



# **A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF NAM SUMMITS: 1961-1986**

**ABSTRACT  
OF THE  
THESIS  
SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE OF  
Doctor of Philosophy  
IN  
Political Science**

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## \_A\_B\_S\_T\_R\_A\_C\_T\_

The thesis entitled "A Comparative Study of NAM Summits: 1961-1986" is both a historical, analytical and critical account of Non-aligned Movement as well. The movement is assumed to be a product of twentieth century political currents and cross-currents. The Socialist Revolution in Soviet Union during first world war and its emergence as a military super power after the end of second world war signified a radical bifurcation of the world into a capitalist bloc consisting of northern America and western Europe and a socialist bloc comprising of Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. Non-alignment is the collective foreign policy response of Third World countries after world war II, which aims at staying away from bloc politics and military alliances.

The first chapter is a historical perspective of Non-aligned Movement. It tries to trace the origin and development of the movement against the backdrop of super power confrontation. This chapter takes Bandung Conference of Asian and African nations to be the watershed in the development of NAM. It maintains that the idea of non-alignment was first formulated by Jawaharlal Nehru. Before India was granted formal independence, Nehru foreshadowed the core of the foreign policy of free India as remaining outside the power blocs and military alliances. Besides Nehru, the role of other founding fathers of the movement notably that of Tito,

Nasser, Sukarno, Nkrumah etc., is also highlighted. The chapter also deals with the leading role played by Egypt, Indonesia, African countries, Yugoslavia et. al., in the development and consolidation of the movement.

The Second chapter attempts to compare the highlights of first four NAM Summits. These NAM Summits were concerned with the entire gamut of ideas of political, economic and geostrategic questions of sixties and early seventies. However, we could not have investigated all the details of the resolutions. We concentrated on those issues which exercised the minds of summiteers throughout the four conferences. It is pointed out that the first four consecutive NAM conferences concentrated on political questions without ignoring the due importance of economic imperatives on the international plane. Thus, firstly, the question of peace and disarmament is taken up and the emphasis laid on the importance of a peaceful world. The question of world peace and disarmament runs conspicuously throughout all the deliberations of NAM Summits. Secondly, these conferences stressed the fundamental principle that should govern international relations, viz., the principle of inviolability of territories of nations, big or small. The participants deplored the neo-colonialist trends in international politics.

The participants in these conferences further emphasised that all the nations of the world have the right to self-determination through which they can define their political identity and freely pursue their social and economic development. These conferences specially stressed the resolve of Third World countries to achieve economic emancipation and stabilise political independence at any cost. Thirdly, the first four conferences pointed out that the persistence of an inequitable world economic system inherited from the colonial past poses a great threat to international peace. The participants noted that the responsibility of ameliorating the economic conditions of the Third World countries rests primarily on the peoples and governments of these countries. However, objective conditions of international trade and commerce have also to be equitable if not favourable. Only then can a real breakthrough be made in our struggle for elimination of poverty from Third World. Fourthly, the problem of apartheid in South-Africa constantly figured in the deliberations of NAM Summits. These summits repeatedly emphasised that the policy of racial discrimination anywhere in the world was a grave violation of universal declaration of Human Rights and the Charter of the United Nations. In view of the same the conferences called upon all the countries of the world



to impose sanctions against the racially discriminatory government in South Africa. Fifthly, the issue which consistently and strongly featured in the proceedings of NAM Summits was the restoration of the political, legal, economic and social rights of the millions of Palestinian people. The delegates, forcefully, supported the right of the Palestinian Arabs to have their own homeland. They requested the United Nations and the world opinion to help them in their struggle for the restoration of their political rights.

The third chapter outlines the question of New International Economic Order. The chapter, to begin with, gives a factual analysis of international economic situation. It is pointed out that imperial domination of the Third World countries has led to a vertical division of the world into two economic orders, one a dominant order of developed countries consisting of North American and West European countries and Japan and another a subservient order consisting of majority of Afro-Asian and Latin American countries. Economically and technologically the world is divided into "haves" and "have-nots".

The broad thrust of the struggle for a New International Economic Order is to minimise the sweep and scope of the technological imperialism on the part of developed countries. In view of the same, the fifth, sixth, seventh and eighth Summit Conferences of NAM were dominated by deliberations on the question of ironing out blatant imbalances in the world economic system.

The fourth chapter outlines the attitude and the response of super powers towards the rise and development of Non-aligned Movement. In this connection, this chapter brings out the favourable reaction of Soviet Union and unsympathetic attitude of United States of America. Although, the Soviet Union did not agree with the political philosophy of Non-alignment, yet she co-opted with NAM members in view of the commonality of their foreign policy interests and perceptions. As against this, the United States of America took unfriendly attitude towards the development and expansion of Non-aligned movement. In view of the fact that NAM's stand on apartheid, Palestine and the problem of New International Economic Order, was totally opposed to U.S. stand on these issues, there developed an unavoidable

clash of interests and strategies between NAM and U.S.  
foreign policy postures.

It is hoped that the study of a major international  
movement will lead to a better understanding of contemporary  
political, economic and social problems and brings out the  
necessity of studying international relations from a critical  
and methodological point of view.

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**1990**



**T4031**

***Dedicated  
To My  
Parents***

Taufiq Ahmad Nizami  
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### CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the thesis entitled "A Comparative Study of NAM Summits: 1961-1986" has been carried out by Mr. Irshad Ahmad Shah under my supervision. The thesis is suitable for submission for the award of Doctor of Philosophy in Political Science of the Aligarh Muslim University.

A handwritten signature in black ink, reading 'Taufiq Ahmad Nizami' in a cursive style.  
DR. T.A. NIZAMI  
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\_P\_R\_E\_F\_A\_C\_E\_

Non-aligned Movement symbolises the contemporary political struggle waged by colonised and exploited countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. While two world wars in Europe led first to the establishment of League of Nations and later on United Nations Organisation, the rise of the third world countries from colonial subjugation culminated into Non-aligned Movement against the backdrop of bi-polar bloc politics during the later forties of this century.

A historical survey of the movement reveals that Non-aligned forum arose in response to complex international relations obtaining after second world war. The newly liberated countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America were keen to formulate their foreign policy responses in keeping with their sovereign status, national aspirations and collective interests. They did not want to play second fiddle to super powers or military alliances led by them. Accordingly, they formally launched the Movement in 1961 at Belgrade (Yugoslavia) under the inspiration of Nehru, Tito, Sukarnoo, Nasser, Nkrumah et. al.

The Summit Conferences of NAM discussed multilateral and international questions of political, economic and diplomatic significance. They, however, concentrated their attention on such issues as world peace and disarmament



and international security. Certain concrete questions of vital importance to third world countries such as problem of apartheid in South Africa and problem of restoration of territorial rights of the people of Palestine also figured perennially in their deliberations. The question of New International Economic Order was specially deliberated upon during fifth, sixth, seventh and eighth NAM Summit Conferences.

The responses of two super powers towards the movement were diametrically opposite to each other. The Soviet Union considered the Non-aligned Movement as a partner in the over-all struggle against imperialistic and hegemonistic forces represented by NATO bloc countries. The United States of America considered the very option of staying Non-aligned as an unacceptable moral and political response.

The main inspiration and guiding spirit of this thesis has been my supervisor Dr. Taufiq Ahmad Nizami, Reader, Department of Political Science. He has encouraged and enlightened me during my M.Phil. and Ph.D. programmes. Despite his heavy personal and academic engagements he has gladly found time to check the formulations arrived at in this thesis. Besides, he has treated me with rare affection and sweetness. I am deeply beholden to him from the depths of my heart.

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- iv -

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Allah alone is besought for help and on Him alone we depend.

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## C H A P T E R - I

### EMERGENCE OF NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT

Emergence of Non-aligned Movement

----- With Renaissance, Europe entered the age of Science and reason. The great scientific achievements in natural science changed the terms of western philosophical and ideological discourse. Scientific research was translated into technological inventions and innovations resulting into large scale industrialisation. The total impact of science and technology and industrial progress was the development of a variety of critiques of religion on one hand and the rise and development of secular ideologies viz, socialism, democracy, humanism etc on the other. Socialism as a political movement flourished throughout the 19th century and its classic expression was formulated in the writings of Marx and Engles et. al. While the liberal democracy was integrated with capitalism in France, Germany, Great Britain, Socialist model came to dominate the policy, economy and society of USSR under the leadership of Lenin, the watershed being October, 1917 revolution. After the second world war, two power blocs crystallised in the northern hemisphere of the globe, the NATO bloc led by United States of America with commitment to individual freedom, liberalism and free enterprise



and Warsaw pact countries led by Union of Soviet Socialist Republics underlining the significance of distributive justice and central planning. Thus the end of the second world war saw the emergence of the bipolar international system leading to Cold - War between the two blocs.

The origin and emergence of non-aligned movement must be traced against this backdrop. The newly emerging South Asian, West Asian, North and Central African independent nation-states in fifties and sixties of this century **faced** a bipolar international system within which they were supposed to exercise their foreign policy options. However, the newly emerging nations questioned the moral validity, political soundness and economic wisdom of this bipolar framework. Morally the bipolar system was unjustifiable as it led to respective theoretical justifications of war and an explicit abandonment of the ethic of peace. The system could not lead to stable political nation-states, as it rested on assumptions of inter-state interference, cut-throat competition and mutual

acrimony. Economically, it foreclosed the option of free international trade and aid and stressed the respective ideologies of free market and planned development instead of a healthy pragmatism so necessary for a buoyant growth both in productive and distributive terms. Above all these considerations, the newly emerging nation-states did not want to compromise with their hard won sovereignty by aligning themselves either with capitalist liberalism or socialist totalitarianism.

The Bandung Conference of Asian and African countries may be considered a watershed in the development of NAM. It was held in 1955 at Bandung in Indonesia in which 29 countries participated. The idea of covering a Summit Conference of Asian and African countries was first proposed by the then President of Indonesia Sukarnoo back in 1953. The idea was to give a United Struggle against imperialism, colonialism and racism.

The Non-aligned Movement is a product of the contemporary epoch. Like all social and political

movements, it resulted from the previous course of historical development and a series of major world events, which is why a correct understanding of the essence of non-alignment and its ideological sources necessitates a historical approach to this international phenomenon.

The emergence of non-alignment in international politics is the most remarkable development of the post-second world war. "No principle of foreign policy in the second half of the twentieth century has had a greater impact on relations between small countries and big powers than non-alignment".<sup>1</sup> The end of world war second inaugurated a new pattern of relationship in world politics envisaging the division of world into two power blocs each headed by the Soviet Union and the United States of America. The period also envisaged the process of decolonisation which led many countries in Asia and Africa to independence. Both the

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1. Ali Mazrui in a fore word to Peter Willett, The Non-Aligned Movement: The origins of a third world Alliance (INDIAN Addition), Bombay 1978, p. xiii.

super power embarked on a mission to win the newly independent states to their respective folds. This super power rivalry triggered the imagination of certain states who were determined not to join either bloc and preserve an independent policy in their relations with other countries:

This approach was given various expressions like, 'non-commitment', 'non-involvement', 'neutrality or neutralism'.

Jawaharlal Nehru is credited with giving Expression to Non-Alignment in 1946.<sup>2</sup> He elaborated this concept by saying that:

"We propose as far as possible, to keep away from the power politics of groups, alinged against one another which have led in the past to two world wars and which may again lead to disasters on an even vaster scale".<sup>3</sup> India emerged as an independent nation-state immediately after second world war. It is also a significant date in so far as an all out revolution starts against colonial powers. The

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2. Jansen, G.H., Afro-Asia and Non-Alignment, London, 1966, p. 14.

3. Nehru, J., India's Foreign Policy, New Delhi, 1981, p. 197.

emergence of India as independent sovereign country in 1947, envisaged the "beginning of the anti-colonial revolution in the post-war world and also marked the emergence of non-alignment at the world state".<sup>4</sup>

First, not all countries became free at once with dozens of them remaining colonies or semi-colonies for a long time. For them a protracted struggle for liberation still lay ahead. Second, formal independence - the establishment of a national government, and the adoption of one's own flag and anthem did not guarantee full and genuine political and economic independence, which still had to be won. Third, the newly free states were in one way or the other tied to the aggressive policies of the former colonial and other imperialist powers. Far from being equal in their relations with the latter, they were, in addition, isolated in international affairs. To put an end to this situation it was necessary for them to map out an effective foreign

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4. Prasad, B., The General Experiences of Non-Alignment and its prospects for the future, New Delhi, 1968, p. 1.

policy and to implement it through joint efforts. Such were their objective interests and tasks.

To break with their colonial past the newly free countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America tended to choose a political course that would ensure real independence from the former colonial and other imperialist powers and at the same time promote close alliance with anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist forces, including, of course, the socialist community. Some newly free states, however, were prevented from embarking on this path owing to certain circumstances: the continued economic dependence on the west, close link with the world capitalist economy and as yet insignificant ties with the socialist world and its economic system. Consequently these countries sought an alternative path in the area of international politics. It was the path of positive neutralism or non-alignment, with active development of mutual cooperation and solidarity.<sup>5</sup>

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5. Khan, A., The Non-Alignment Movement, Achievements, prospects, problems, progress Publishers, Moscow, 1985, p. 9.

In 1945, with the rout of Axis powers, the prospect for the attainment of independence by the peoples of the East improved. It became necessary to work out concepts of Afro-Asian unity and outline an independent foreign policy for the future sovereign states. At the constituent United Nations Conference held in San Francisco representatives of several Asian and African countries proposed to the unofficial Indian delegation that Nehru should develop the idea of Afro-Asian unity and solidarity, which he undertook to do.

The idea of non-alignment was first formulated by Jawaharlal Nehru. As Vice-Premier of India's Interim government, he outlined the basic principles of the country's foreign policy in his speech over the Indian radio on September 7, 1946, and said that India would remain outside groupings and military political blocs of States, trying at the same time to maintain friendly relations with all the countries.<sup>6</sup> In December, 1947,

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6. Malhotra, 'Beyond the Delhi Summit', Times of India, March 17, 1983, p.8.

Nehru who was at that time the Prime Minister of independent India reiterated and expounded that foreign policy principle in his address to the Indian Constituent Assembly. According to Indian scholars, he devised the doctrine of non-alignment primarily to preserve and promote India's national interests and only later commended it to other Afro-Asian nations as a second guideline for international behaviour.<sup>7</sup>

The concept of non-alignment is an amalgam of positive and negative implications. The negative element has been over emphasised by the western scholars. Thus, Ehrenfels, observed, "Non-Alginment by its very term is a negative concept. In this it resembles the idea of non-resistance, non-violence and nirvana".<sup>8</sup> However, this negative conception has been frequently repudiated by the advocates of

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7. Ibid., p. 9.

8. Michael, B., India and World Politics, London, 1968, p.3



Non-Alignment. V.K. Krishna Menon observed, "Non-alignment in a sense is an ugly word. It is negative but becomes positive when you use it in the way we do".<sup>9</sup> In 1958 Nehru observed, "when we say our policy is one of non-alignment, obviously we mean non-alignment with military blocs. It is not a negative policy. It is a positive one and I hope a dynamic one". There is no static comprehensive meaning of non-alignment. The proponents of non-alignment themselves were not clear about the meaning of term non-alignment and they were not certain about the nomenclature of the term as well. Several phrases like, "Positive Policy for Peace", "Positive Neutrality", "non-engaged", are commonly used to denote non-alignment. The term "non-alignment itself came into being during 1953-54 when it was firstly used in the United Nations by V.K. Krishna Menon, by which time its objective goals and meaning were already in the air. Nasser and other Arab leaders preferred the term "Positive Neutralism". Nehru however, was not happy with this term. He preferred

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9. Rehman, M.M., The Politics of Non-Alignment, New Delhi, 1969, p. 7.

such terms like "Keeping aloof from blocs", "independent policy", "friendly relations with all", and "Positive initiative for peace".<sup>10</sup>

The Prime Minister of Burma U Nu said: "this policy has been called Neutralism in Cold War, perhaps that is the right name for it. Even the large section of western scholars were reluctant to use the term "non-alignment". Most of them preferred the term neutrality or neutralism. The term, "non-alignment" was unanimously adopted at Belgrade Conference in 1961.

The term "non-alignment" is in vogue Since the early 1950s and the non-aligned movement has never cared to define authoritatively, comprehensively and precisely the concept of non-alignment even after nine Summits and numerous other inter-governmental Conferences for the last three decades.

No effort has ever been made to define "non-alignment". Even the Summit Conference held at Belgrade

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10. Ibid., pp. 8-9.

in 1964 did not discuss this aspect. The fourth Summit Conference held in Algiers in 1973 did provide an occasion when a Libyan proposal raised the issue for a new definition as stricter interpretation of the concept of non-alignment. The lack of consensus led to the exclusion of this issue from the agenda of the Conference.

During the non-aligned Summit held at Havana in September 1979 the Burmese delegation proposed the dissolution of the movement and called for the establishment of a committee to define the movement's principles. Burma's proposal went unheeded. Besides various endeavours have been made to define non-alignment within and without the non-aligned Conference. But no authoritative statement of the policy or a definition of the concept by the collective wisdom of the movement itself has emerged so far.<sup>11</sup>

The pioneers of the movement - Tito, Nehru and Nasser made various statements on non-alignment,

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11. Maung Myint, H.E., Addresses delivered at the Sixth Conference of Heads of State and government of Non-Aligned countries, Havana, 1980, pp. 147-48.

most of which centred round only on particular or transient elements or aspects of the policy reflecting their respective standpoints. Even a survey of the declaration and joint communiques issued by the Summits and Ministerial Conferences of the movement from Belgrade 1961 to Belgrade 1989 does not provide any authentic, comprehensive and self-contained definition of non-alignment.

The Declaration issued after the first Summit (Belgrade 1961) did not try to define non-alignment but envisaged that the Conference "do not wish to form a new bloc and can not be a bloc".<sup>12</sup> The Declaration issued after the second Summit Conference (Cairo, 1954) was also silent on it and envisaged that the pursuit of the "policy of active peaceful co-existence" was essential in the wake of the existence of military blocs, Great power alliances and pacts arising therefrom has accentuated the cold-

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12. Documents of the Gatherings of Non-Aligned Countries, 1961-78 Belgrade, 1978, p. 139.

war. The subsequent Summit Conferences even went on adding new appendages without defining the concept of non-alignment. The Algerian Summit envisaged a scheme of "international security". The communique of the preparatory meeting for the Lusaka Conference of non-aligned states issued at Dar-es-Salaam in April 1970 reaffirmed the will of the non-aligned countries to adhere to the "principles and criteria of non-alignment as expressed at the non-aligned Conference of Belgrade and Cairo. Even the Lusaka Conference (September 1970) noted that what is needed is not a redefinition of non-alignment but rededication by all non-aligned nations to its central aims and objectives. The Algiers Summit 1973 referred to only unspecified aims, principles and practices of non-alignment. The emphasis of the Colombo Summit (August 1976) was on exercising increasing vigilance by its members to preserve intact the essential character of non-alignment, maintain unswerving fidelity to its principles and policies. The Havana Declaration (1979) also echoed the previous thinking leaving the definition part untouched. Thus it became abundantly clear that the non-aligned movement has failed to

provide for an authentic, comprehensive definition, the absence of which has become a source of conceptual as well as international weakness and a major cause of the wide gap between theory of non-alignment and the practice of non-aligned states, individually and collectively. However, Leo Mates has defended the virtue of non-alignment for not going in for a single authorised definition of Non-Alignment. He holds:

"It is not unreasonable to say that there are many definitions of non-alignment as there are non-aligned countries and even possibly more. In a certain sense it can be said that the policy of non-alignment has permanently been undergoing definition, re-examination and criticism while resisting arbitrary assessment. All this is understandable since the movement of the non-aligned countries is something new in international relations not only because of the form of cooperation among a large number of generally dissimilar countries."<sup>13</sup>

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13. Review of International Affairs, Belgrade, 20 September 1979, p. 18.

Nehru, Tito, Nas jointly referred to as movement. Their outstanding cited by Sekou Toure, P. when he spoke on behalf countries in Havana. Dr scholar, believes that "there have always been work, consistency, contribution and reputation".<sup>14</sup>

Nehru was the first to propose the Pancha-Shila principles as political and legal foundation for the concept of non-alignment. He also had an important role to play in the evolution of the non-alignment policy as the newly free countries' active peace loving course on the world scene, which presupposed their most active influence on the solution of global problems. He was among the main organisers of the Bandung Conference.<sup>15</sup>

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14. Review of International Affairs, No. 714, 1980, p. 16.

15. Ibid., p. 17.

It was under the influence of Indian delegation that the Conferences attached priority importance in their resolutions to the urgent problems of ensuring peace, disarmament and preventing war. Elaborating on the essence of the policy of non-alignment, Nehru wrote: "we will not attach ourselves to any particular group of states". He added that this policy "has nothing to do with neutrality, passiveness or anything else".<sup>16</sup>

Yugoslavia's policy of non-alignment began taking shape in 1950s when the country faced with direct imperialist pressure felt the need for such a foreign policy that would guarantee the diversification and extension of its political support of Asian, African and Latin American countries. Its espousal of the non-alignment principles found expression in particular, in the final communiques issued after Tito's visit

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16. Nehru, J., Speeches, September May 1946-49, Vol. I, New Delhi, 1958, pp. 202-203.



to India. (December 22, 1954), which said, among other things: "The President of Republic of Yugoslavlia and the Prime Minister of India state that the policy of non-alignment with blocs, adopted and pursued by their governments, is neither 'neutrality' nor 'neutralism' and therefore does not spell passiveness, as is some time claimed but constitutes an active positive and constructive policy aiming at collective peace which is the only possible foundation for collective security".<sup>17</sup>

Tito suggested that the geographical boundaries of the non-aligned movement should be extended. In late 1959, he visited Indonesia, Burma, India, Ceylon, Ethiopia, Sudan, Egypt and Syria, holding talks and discussing the problem of convening a Conference of Heads of State and Government of all non-aligned countries.<sup>18</sup>

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17. Socialist Thought and Practice, Belgrade, 1979, No. 9, p. 9.

18. Ibid., p. 10.

Speaking about Egypt it is worth mentioning that its road towards the non-alignment movement was an arduous one. After the second world war that formally independent state was in fact subordinate to Great Britain its former metropolitan country. It was not until July 1952 that the Patriotically-minded officers of the Egyptian army led by Gamel Abdel Nasser came to power, overthrowing King Farouk's regime and initiating in this way the Egyptian (July) Revolution. Egypt undertook an agrarian reform and in October 1954 Great Britain had to sign an agreement on withdrawing its troops from the Suez Canal Zone. The Nasser government refuted western bids and undertook a major foreign policy act by deciding to nationalize the Suez Canal, among whose Shareholders were Britain and France. These two imperialist powers, supported by the U.S., responded to the just actions by the Nasser government by trying to bring pressure to bear on Egypt. Having failed, Britain and France made a deal with Israel and attempted an invasion of Egypt in late October - early November 1956.<sup>19</sup>

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19. Benevolensky, V., The Non-Aligned Movement from Belgrade to New Delhi, Progress Publishers, 1985, p. 23.

The Soviet Union and all peace-loving forces denounced the aggressors and supported Egypt. The struggle mounted by the Egyptian people and the resolute political support given by the Soviet Union forced the aggressors to back down for the time being, though the enemy did not relinquish the attempts to thwart the democratic aspirations of the Nasser government.

Indonesia also had a notable role to play at the early stage of evolution of the non-aligned movement. In President Sukarno's time the country emerged on the international political scene, proclaiming anti-colonialism and anti-imperialism and hosted the Bandung Conference. President Sukarno actively participated in the preparations for and the holding of the first Conference of Heads of State of Government in Belgrade. However, already at that time, considerable differences became manifest in the positions of Indonesia and India. During the 1962 Sino-Indian conflict Indonesia adopted a neutral stand. President Sukarno did not support the initiative made by Tito and Nasser to hold the second Conference of the non-aligned countries and insisted on

holding another Conference of the Bandung type, that is, with the participants restricted only to the Afro-Asian region and in disregard of the non-alignment principles.<sup>20</sup>

The concept of non-alignment did not evolve suddenly. Its growth has been the result of experience of newly independent states. The edifice of non-alignment has been built during last three decades, "a process in which the profession and practices of the non-aligned states and the Summit Conferences from Belgrade to Havana, through collective articulation of the ideas and ideals of the movement, have played a significant role".<sup>21</sup>

It was also in 1954 that a meeting at Colombo between India, Pakistan, Indonesia, Burma and Sri Lanka

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20. Socialist Thought and Practice, Belgrade, 1979, No.9, p. 11.

21. Prasad, B., The General Experiences of Non-Alignment and its Prospects for the future, New Delhi, 1968, p. 1.

decided to call a full meeting of the Afro-Asian States. At Bandung, the meeting of the foreign ministers of all independent Afro-Asian States, except South Korea, Taiwan, South Africa and Israel, endorsed the concept of Panch-Sila. Equally important in this context is the joint statement issued by Jawaharlal Nehru and Marshal Josip Broz Tito in New Delhi in 1954. It was the first declaration to the world that India and Yugoslavia had pursued and adopted a policy of non-alignment.<sup>22</sup>

The expression "non-alignment" was first used by Krishna Menon in 1950.<sup>23</sup> So far the different liberation movements in previously colonised countries had fought separately. For the first time the different detachments of this world wide struggle against imperialism were beginning to come together for joint action. The process had been initiated by the Asian Relations Conference held in New Delhi, on the initiative of India in

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22. Banerjee, S., Non-Alignment Today, Challenges and Prospects, Allied Publishers, New Delhi, 1985, p.31.

23. Ibid.

1947. The joint actions in the UN prepared the ground for the second major steps in the direction of formulating the basic principles of non-alignment. This was the India-China Joint Communique in 1954, enunciating the Panch Shila or the five principles:

1. mutual respect for each other's territorial sovereignty;
2. non-aggression;
3. non-interference in each other's internal affairs;
4. equality and mutual beneficial relations;
5. Peaceful co-existence.

Non-Alignment is a political concept giving expression to the struggle of the countries liberated from the political domination of imperialism to break their continued economic dependence, to build an independent national economy, the true foundation of political sovereignty. This process of transition is taking place today under conditions of a global

crisis, expressed in terms of threat of nuclear war, in pursuit of global domination by a single imperialist power, USA which perceives it as the only way for the survival of the system of international financial monopoly.

Mrs. Indira Gandhi in her keynote address at the New Delhi Summit of non-aligned countries defined the concept of non-alignment in the following unambiguous words:

"Non-Alignment is national independence and freedom. It stands for peace and avoidance of confrontation. It aims at keeping away from military alliances. It means equality among nations and democratisation of international relations, economic and political. It wants global cooperation for development on the basis of mutual benefit. It is a strategy for the recognition and preservation of the world diversity".<sup>24</sup>

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24. Non-Aligned: The Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, Belgrade, 1961, pp. 25-26.

The evolution of non-alignment was not the result of any preconceived idea or prior consultations among these countries but it was facilitated owing to certain common experiences, ideals and aspirations which these countries shared in varying degrees. President Sukarno's address to the Belgrade Conference in 1961 aptly summed this up as follows:

"There was no prior consultation agreement between us before we adopted our respective policies of non-alignment. We each reached at this policy inspired by common ideals promoted by similar circumstances upurned on by like experiences. There were no attempts at compromise to make our policies identical. But not one of us, I think, will deny that we did inspire each other. The experiences of one country in discovering that a policy of non-alignment is the best guarantee for safeguarding our national and international



positions have doubtedly helped others to  
come to similar conclusion."<sup>25</sup>

The non-aligned countries had the common experience of having been under the colonial yoke for ~~centuries~~. The resources of these colonial countries were exploited by the imperial powers for furthering their influence. After attaining the independence those countries had realized the perils of being party to bloc politics. It was this interest that prompted them to keep away from bloc politics. The countries pursued the policy of non-alignment in order to give fuller meaning and content to their newly attained political independence. The former Prime Minister of Jamaica, Michael Manley, emphasizing the same fact, says that "the non-aligned movement did begin simply because there were blocs. It opposed bloc power configurations because there were involved limitations imposed by the world political environment.

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25. Ibid., p. 27.

By the end of the Second World War South America had 24 states and 20 relatively small colonial territories located for the most part on Islands in the Caribbean. The majority of Latin American countries attained political independence as early as in the beginning of the past century and had covered a considerable road of capitalist development. Their process was largely checked by their financial and economic dependence on US monopolies and consequently their political dependence on the US.<sup>26</sup>

To give an unbiased assessment of any phenomenon in life, especially in international affairs, one should have a clear idea not only of the phenomenon itself, but also of its origin of what preceded it and what happened later. This fully applies to the non-aligned movement which has its own history but has been unfolding against the back-ground of international developments.

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26. The International Meeting of Communist and Worker's Parties, Moscow, 1969, Prague, 1969, p. 29.

The origin of this new phenomenon of the system of international relations can be traced to the revolutionary change caused in the system by the October socialist revolution in Russia. The revolution marked the beginning of the end of the international relations which prevailed in world before 1917. The next major change in international relations occurred after world war second, when the Socialist Community emerged and demonstrated the possibility of equality, fraternal, cooperation and comradely mutual assistance among free people.<sup>27</sup>

Between 1947 and 1954 the term "neutrality" was in vogue. It denoted the behaviour of non-aligned countries. But neutrality and non-alignment are not synonymous. During the early post war years

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27. Alimov, Y., The Rise and Growth of Non-Aligned Movement, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1987, p. 12.

the term non-alignment was identified with neutrality and western scholars and statesmen were obsessed with this term".<sup>28</sup> However, the "non-alignment" and "neutrality" are two different terms. Frequently both the terms were used in the past interchangeably. Neutrality or Neutralism should be used to describe the general historical phenomenon of uncommitted nations in the world system, dominated by western powers before world war second.

Some writings have focussed attention on the relationship between non-alignment and power politics. Non-Alignment has been labelled as a policy based on neutrality and idealism, on the one hand, and on the other hand it has been described as an exercise of power politics. Power politics is beyond the scope of our present study. However, to clarify the distinction between non-alignment and power politics, it seems sufficient to quote George Schwarzenberger. He defines power politics as signifying a type of

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28, Misra, K.P., ed. Studies in Indian Foreign Policy, New Delhi, 1969, p. 90.

relations between states in which patterns of behaviour, are predominant; armaments, isolationism, power diplomacy, power economics, regional or universal imperialism, alliances, balance of power and war. Power politics may be defined as a system of international relations in which groups consider themselves to be ultimate ends.<sup>29</sup>

According to Prof. K.P. Misra, non-alignment rejects this variety of politics and attempts to highlight an organic link between the constituents of the international community. It rejects not only power politics but also the view held by Hans Morganthau and others that all politics is a struggle for power. Thus non-alignment is devoid of all such ambiguities and is rather a substitute for power politics in international relations.<sup>30</sup>

"Despite the fact that the non-aligned are not neutral states and are not comparable to the small states

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29. Schwarzenberger, G., Power Politics, New York, 1951, p. 13.

30. Rana, A.P., The Nature India's Foreign Policy, India Quarterly, New Delhi, Vol. 22, 1966, p.12.

of the nineteenth century, many writers have persisted in maintaining that non-alignment is merely a synonym for neutralism".<sup>31</sup> Peter Lyon maintains a minor difference in the neutral states of the past which were bound by an accepted set of legal rights and obligations whereas contemporary 'neutralist' states are not recognised in internal law. Lyon's analysis is inadequate as it admits only one of many differences between neutrality and non-alignment. Even majority of essays in Martin's book "Neutralism and Non-Alignment" envisage no difference between these two concepts.<sup>32</sup>

The second type of neutral state is that of four neutral European countries, viz. Austria, Finland, Switzerland and Sweden. These countries have maintained a status of neutrality during the war and they are pursuing their foreign policy in such a manner which would help them remain neutral

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31. Martin, L.W., ed. Neutralism and Non-Alignment, New York, 1962, p. 22.

32. Sayesh, F.A., The Dynamics of Neutralism in the Arab World, San Francisco, 1964, p. 28.

in an eventuality of war in the future. Non-Alignment is not neutrality of non-belligerent nation during a general war, it is not 'neutrality' of the Swiss or the Austrian brand, guaranteed by other nations by treaty.<sup>33</sup>

The concept of non-alignment did not originate from neutrality or neutralism as most of the western scholars have endeavoured to prove it.

The doctrine of non-alignment took shape in the complex conditions of the cold war, when in 1949 NATO was formed, and then in 1955 the countries of the socialist community, in response to the threat to their security on the path of NATO set up the Warsaw Treaty organisation, the defence alliance to the European Socialist States. But unlike the imperialist powers, the Soviet Union and other socialist countries did not have military political blocs in Asia, Africa

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33. Margenthau, J., Neutrality and Neutralism, Year Book of World Affairs, 1957, London, vol. II, pp. 47-75.

and Latin America. Therefore, when the newly free nations were faced with the question of whether to join or not to join any of the existing blocs, they could have in mind only imperialist groupings. That is why from the outset non-alignment in fact meant refraining from joining military blocs like SEATO, the Baghdad Pact (CENTO) ASPAC, ANZUS and so on. It would be wrong, however, to say that non-alignment took shape under the impact of external factors alone. It was also domestic socio-political and economic factors that led above all to their determination to put an end to the remnants of foreign domination and gain complete freedom and independence, get rid of their age-old backwardness and poverty, wipe out the illiteracy and downtroddenness of the population, raise their living standards, eliminate the survivals of feudalism and semi-feudal bondage, and recognize society on new, democratic principles.<sup>34</sup>

Non-alignment in Nehru's view did not mean the non-aligned nations had to be an 'equal distance'

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34. Nehru, J., India's Foreign Policy, New Delhi, 1961, pp. 24-25.



from each of the two military political camps confronting each other. Non-Alignment according to Nehru meant refraining from joining blocs and from pursuing a bloc oriented policy, i.e. a policy that ran counter to the interests of the newly free countries. Indira Gandhi subsequently explained:

"It is untenable to interpret non-alignment as equidistance from the super powers. On the contrary non-alignment is something very positive".<sup>35</sup>

Jawaharlal Nehru regarded non-alignment as an effective instrument in the hands of the newly free nations, with, the help of which they could pursue an independent foreign policy. Addressing the Indian Parliament Jawaharlal Nehru condemned SEATO, set up in 1954, and warned the western governments that they were pushing the world in the wrong direction. He said:

"It is obvious that our participation in Manila Conference would have meant our basic policy of non-alignment".<sup>35a</sup>

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35. Jaisingh, H., India and the Non-aligned World, Search for a new Order, New Delhi, 1989, p.25.

35a. Op.cit., p. 26.

Jawaharlal Nehru, made a major contribution to the Unity of Asian States. At his initiative the first Asian Relations Conference was convened in March 1947 in Delhi attended by representatives of 27 countries opening the Conference, Nehru said:

"Perhaps one of the notable consequences of the European domination of Asia has been the isolation of the countries of Asia from one another. As that domination goes the walls that surrounded us fall down and we look at one another again and meet as old friends long parted... But in order to have one world, we must also, in Asia, think of the countries of Asia cooperating together for the larger ideal".<sup>36</sup>

The Bandung Conference was organised for the defence of the rights of Afro-Asian nations, an important instrument in their struggle against the imperialist yoke, for free and independent development. It enable the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America to come

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36. Kovalenko, I., Tuzmukhamedor, R., The Non-Aligned Movement, Soviet View, Sterling Publishers, India, 1987, p. 7.

onto the international scene as an organised force in the struggle against colonialism and imperialism. A characteristic of the international cooperation of the Afro-Asian States was that they did not try to set up a bloc of their own. This, they believed, would only have led to an aggravation of international tension and to a heightening of the Cold War. The Afro-Asian leaders were striving to unite the newly independent countries in a broad front of struggle against imperialism and colonialism, for the consolidation of political sovereignty and the achievement of full economic independence, for the creation of favourable conditions for their independent development along the path of peace, democracy and progress.

The Bandung Conference endorsed the five principles of peaceful co-existence and complemented them with new provisions. Its declaration on the promotion of world peace and cooperation emphasized once again that all nations should practise tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours and develop friendly relations or cooperation on the basis of following principles.

1. Respect for fundamental rights and for the purpose and principles of the charter of the United Nations;
2. Respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all nations;
3. Recognition of the equality of all races and of the equality of all nations; large and small;
4. Abstention from intervention ~~of~~ interference in the internal affairs of another country;
5. Respect for each nation to defend itself singly or collectively, in conformity with the charter of the United Nations;
6. (a) Abstention from the use of agreements of collective defence to serve the particular interests of any of the big powers;  
(b) Abstention by any country from exerting pressures on other countries;
7. Refraining from acts or threats of aggression or the use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any country;

8. Settlement of all internal disputes by peaceful means of the parties own choice in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations;
9. Promotion of mutual interests and cooperation;
10. Respect for justice and international obligations.<sup>37</sup>

The Bandung Conference was of truly historic significance both for the countries which participated in it and for other peace-loving and freedom-loving nations of the world. The principles and the spirit of Bandung have served a useful purpose in the subsequent development of international relations and remains relevant today. Hence the continued interests in the first Asian-African Conference whose anniversary was celebrated all over the world.

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37. The Non-Aligned Movement in Documents and Materials, Moscow, 1979, p. 426.

The movement which served so well at times failed to prevent Iran-Iraq war which continued unabated for more than eight years. Again today the NAM finds itself helpless in the face of the Gulf crisis unable to resolve a dispute between two of its members. This has somehow been the history of NAM, even though its members form a majority of the UN members, because nations in dispute do not want to give anyone the right to mediate and have at times, invited super power's intervention.

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C A P T E R -II

A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF NAM SUMMITS

1961-1973

C H A P T E R -IIA Comparative Study of NAM Summits: 1961-1973

Non-Aligned Movement as the largest peace movement of history was formally institutionalised in 1961 when the first summit of its Heads of State and Government took place at Belgrade in Yugoslavia under the leadership of Jawaharlal Nehru, Joseph Tito, Gamel Abdel Nassir and A.R. Sukaroo and others. This Conference was a landmark in the history of NAM in so far as it provided a platform for ventilating the concerns and interests of third world countries and determined the directions and chalked out the political agenda of the movement. The second conference was held at Cairo in Egypt, the third at Lusaka in Zambia and the fourth at Algiers in Algeria. The present chapter attempts a comparative study of the issues deliberated upon in these four consecutive NAM summits.

As non-aligned countries were newly emerging nation-states from the fetters of colonialism and were gearing themselves up against the countries of the first world, their political, economic, diplomatic and strategic responses were oriented or coloured by their colonial past. The fact of their having been exploited both politically and economically by European countries led



to an intense struggle against colonial islands viz; Nambia, South Africa, Rodhesia (Now Zimbabwe) etc.

Also as they were newly independent countries and had to struggle to establish minimum infrastructural facilities for their political and economic upkeeps, they needed peace and a conducive international climate. In view of these facts, NAM summit gave topmost priority to decolonisation, peace and development issues in their first four summits. Furthermore, they stressed decolonization as they were not sure of their new found independent and sovereign status and viewed remaining islands. of colonial rule as an affront to their own sovereignty. They feared a nuclear blackmail by developed countries and stressed with concern the need for international peace and disarmament.

The economic issues also figured in their deliberations. For the re-establishment of NAM economies and for generating new infrastructural facilities massive economic aid was needed which could come only from developed countries. Therefore, in the first four summits, the need for an equitable economic order was stressed, although the agenda was dominated by political issues and diplomatic priorities.

In the first four summits of NAM the problem of apartheid in South Africa and the problem of restitution of territorial rights of Palestinian people were repeatedly underlined and the world opinion asked to lend a helping hand to the Black millions of South Africa and the exiled millions of Palestine. The policy of Apartheid came under continuous and harsh criticism and admonition by NAM summiteers throughout first four summits. Similarly the exiled people of Palestine were repeatedly shown solidarity by the NAM Heads of State and Government. Therefore, these two problems figure in comparative analysis of NAM issues discussed by summiteers from 1961 to 1973, besides the problems of peace and disarmament, colonialism and economy, which problems too were refrains in all the summit deliberations of NAM. Thus, five issues viz, peace colonialism, economic order, South-African apartheid and Palestine question have been examined in a comparative perspective. In addition to these issues certain allied issues also have been appended to this chapter at the end of analysis.

The purpose of the Belgrade Conference was to exchange views for enhancing the process of international peace and cooperation and to contribute effectively towards solving the international problems.

The first conference of NAM countries was held at a time when international climate had worsened beyond immediate repair and world peace seemed to be in great danger and the entire future of mankind seemed to be jeopardised. The Heads of State and Government noted that the contemporary international crisis stems basically from the clash between an old order based on domination to a new world order entailing mutual cooperation and non-intervention into each other's internal problems. It was noted that dynamics of social change definitely result into clash of interests between the establishment which stands for status quo and the emerging international system with promising possibilities and prospects for the underdeveloped nations.

The forces of imperialism were taking a back seat. The long-drawn-out exploitation of Asian African and Latin American people was slowly and steadily

disappearing. The new and emerging nation-states have been greatly successful in their quest for independence and justice. The era of domination was giving way to era of cooperation, freedom, equality and progress. The days of foreign oppression of reviving nationalities were coming to an end. In view of the same the emerging nations had made significant progress in the fields of science and technology and other spheres of economic change. The heads of state and government were not merely interested in forwarding proposals or suggestions that could resolve outstanding issues between super powers. Rather they were more interested in arriving at the solution of those problems which if not tackled peacefully and in time, could result in disastrous consequences. They emphasised the need for a sense of responsibility as well as political realism in trying to solve those problems which arose from differing systems and approaches adopted by various countries. The NAM heads of state and government did not wish to institute another political lobby or bloc in the international politico-economic business. Rather they stressed to cooperate with any bloc which appreciated the need for peace and progress in the entire world.

Some major issues taken up by the NAM Summits and highlighted in first four summits are as follows:

i) Peace and Disarmament:

The participants in the first NAM Conference underlined the need for complete disarmament. It was considered to be the most urgent task faced by mankind. It pointed out that a complete disarmament can be achieved only by means of international inspectory and supervisory mechanisms.<sup>1</sup> A complete disarmament should include the elimination of armed forces, armaments, foreign bases, manufacture of arms, elimination of institutions and installations for military training and the total prohibition of the production, procession and utilisation of nuclear and thermonuclear arms.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, Documents of the gatherings of non-aligned countries 1961-1982, Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi, 1983, p.5.

2. Ibid., p. 6.

The question of disarmament heavily weighed upon the minds of the participants in the first NAM Conference. They urged the great powers to immediately go in for complete disarmament with a view to save the prospects of human civilization and also earmark resources spent on armament for developmental purposes.

It was also urged that:

- (1) In all future disarmament conferences NAM countries should be duly represented.
- (2) The United Nations should sponsor all discussions and deliberations on disarmament.
- (3) An effective system of inspection and control should guarantee a general and complete disarmament and members of non-aligned nations should also be included in supervisory teams.

It was urged that the testing of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons should be completely banned.

In the second summit conference the participants again stressed on disarmament. The question of peace and security tak

up earnestly by the participating countries in the second Summit Conference. It undertook an analysis of the world situation, with a view to make some significant contribution to the resolution of the problems that generate tension and conditions of warfare. The principles embodied in the Belgrade Declaration became the basis of further deliberations on international situation. A detailed and comprehensive discussion was conducted in cordial atmosphere. The heads of state and government felt happy to register the fact that nearly 50% of the free countries of the world did participate in the conference.

The fact that non-aligned movement was looked upon as an important body in the settlement of international disputes, especially by still colonised countries, was also deemed to be a redeeming feature which brought out the relevance and meaningfulness of the movement.<sup>3</sup> The participants of the Conference were happy to note that the forces of peace, progress and freedom had combinedly made their presence felt and the situation as regards

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3. Saini, M.K., Aspects of Non-Alignment, New Delhi, 1981, p. 47.

international peace was markedly changed for the better in comparison to the times when the first summit conference was held at Belgrade in 1961. However, the Conference warned against any complacency, as regards efforts to lessen international tension in view of the fact that sources of tension still operated at large. The conference also felt happy to note that liberation movements against colonialism, Apartheid and racial discrimination were progressing day in and day out. Such a struggle was deemed to be a part of common struggle for freedom, justice and peace. The Conference was determined to lend its moral and material support to the establishment of a lasting world peace. It affirmed that the establishment of a peaceful world was the common responsibility of the entire mankind in view of the instinctual aspirations of mankind to live in an atmosphere of peace. In view of the same urges the basic principles of Belgrade Conference were reaffirmed with deeper commitment and in greater earnestness.<sup>4</sup> The Conference underlined the paramount significance of

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4. Malaviya, H.D., Non-Alignment Onward, March, New Delhi, 1981, p.8.



disarmament as one of the vital questions facing the contemporary world situation. It emphasised the importance of arriving at political/solutions through mutual dialogue so as to liberate mankind from the fear of insecurity. The Conference felt painfully concerned about the sophisticated and accelerated advances made in the production of war weaponry, leading to a grim possibility of mass-annihilation. The conference called upon the super powers to immediately devise ways and means and workout modalities for a complete and general disarmament.<sup>5</sup>

The Participants noted with regret that in spite of the measures taken by Eighteen Nation Committee on disarmament, especially those of non-aligned nations, have not yielded satisfactory results. It called upon the great powers to immediately, in consultation with the other members of the committee, thrash out a mechanism for complete and general disarmament.

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5. Ibid., p. 10.

The conference also called upon the great powers to take concrete measures with a view to drastically reduce the expenditure on armaments.

The conference also urged the participating nations to take all necessary measures, at the General Assembly of United Nations, which are deemed instrumental for the conclusion of special agreements on disarmament. The conference called upon all the nations of the world to step up their efforts with a view to develop ways and means leading to cooperative development of nuclear energy.

The participants in this summit conference firmly brought out the negative role of military alliances leading to military bases which jeopardise the prospects of international peace and escalate the cold war tension. In view of the same, the NAM countries expressed their strong disapproval of military blocs and vowed not to join such alliances. The conference further pointed out that the maintenance or the establishment of foreign military bases in countries, which are not willing to play

the host constitutes a gross violation of the fundamentals of international peace as well as that of the sovereignty of the host countries. For example, the conference considered that the maintenance of military base at Guantanamo (Cuba), by USA is utterly unacceptable in view of the fact that it is a clear violation of the provisions incorporated in the declaration of Belgrade Conference. Moreover, the base is maintained against the will of the people of the Cuba and therefore all the more unacceptable.<sup>6</sup>

Similarly, the conference took a diametrically opposite stand on the expressed intention of formerly imperial powers to establish military bases in the Indian Ocean. It considered such a step as an effort to engage the previously colonised states of Asia and Africa in super-power confrontation and such an approach clearly betrays imperialistic and neo-colonialistic tendencies.

The following resolutions may be quoted at some length from the proceedings of the summit:

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6. Ibid., p. 11.

- (1) "As the use of force may take a number of forms, military, political and economic the participating countries deem it essential to reaffirm the principles that all states shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of any force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state or in any other manner inconsistent with the purpose of the charter of the United Nations".
- (2) "They considered the disputes between states should be settled by peaceful means in accordance with the charter on the basis of sovereign equality and justice".
- (3) "The participating countries were convinced of the necessity of existing all international efforts to find solutions to all situations which threaten international peace or impair friendly relations among nations".
- (4) "The participating countries gave special attention to the problems of frontiers which may threaten international peace or disturb friendly relations

among nations, and were convinced that in order to settle such problems, all states should resort to negotiation, or other peaceful means set forth in the United Nations Charter in conformity with the legitimate rights of all peoples".<sup>7</sup>

- (5) "The Conference considered that disputes between neighbouring states must be settled peacefully in a spirit of mutual understanding, without foreign intervention or interference".

The participants further expressed their firm conviction that contemporary world situation demands that peaceful co-existence must depend upon freedom, equality and justice between the peoples of various nationalities. It was pointed out that the principle of peaceful co-existence is based on the right of all peoples to be free and to work out their own social, political and economic programmes in consonance with their national

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7. Two Decades of Non-Alignment Documents of the gatherings of Non-Aligned countries, 1961-1982, Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi, p. 96.

ethos and value system. So the second Conference reiterated its opposition to any kind of outside interference and to any other form of foreign colonialism. The participants at this conference were deeply convinced that if peace is to be safeguarded and general advancement of mankind is to be achieved, then, we will have to create conditions in which political oppression and social inequality have no place. Accordingly, Heads of State or government solemnly proclaimed the following fundamental principles of peaceful co-existence:

1. The right to complete independence, which is an inalienable right, must be recognised immediately and unconditionally as pertaining to all peoples in conformity with the charter and resolution of the United Nations General Assembly, it is incumbent upon all states to respect this right and facilitate its exercise.<sup>8</sup>
2. The right to self determination, which is an inalienable right must be recognised as pertaining

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8. Ibid., p. 98.

to all peoples, Accordingly, all nations and peoples have the right to determine their political status freely, pursue their economic, social and cultural development without any hindrance.

3. Peaceful co-existence between states with differing social and political systems is both possible and necessary, It favours the creation of good-neighbourly relations between states with a view to establishment of lasting peace and general well being, free from domination and exploitation.
  4. The sovereign equality of states must be recognised and respected. It includes the right of all peoples to the free exploitation of their natural resources.
  5. All states should respect the fundamental rights and freedoms of the human persons and the equality of all nations and races.
  6. All international conflicts must be settled by peaceful means in a spirit of mutual understanding and on the basis of equality and sovereignty, in
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such a manner that justice and legitimate rights are not impaired, all states must apply themselves to promoting and strengthening measures designed to diminish international tension and achieve general and complete disarmament.<sup>9</sup>

In the Third Summit Conference, the Heads of State and Government again deliberated upon the problems of peace and world security and also exchanged views on the role and significance of non-aligned movement in defusing international tension and restoring peace. The questions of security, national independence and sovereignty of nation states on equitable basis also figured in their deliberations. The conference also sought to find ways and means for democratisation of international relations and for speedy economic process of developing countries. The delegates to the third summit also underlined the need for greater mutual cooperation and consultation amongst the non-aligned countries themselves.

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9. Ibid., p. 99.



The non-alignment as a movement owe's its existence to the determination of newly independent countries to protect their hard-won national independence and genuine national interests.<sup>10</sup> The emergence of NAM into a transcontinental body transcending the barriers of race, region and religion significantly changed the world climate for peace and progress. The very anti-colonial relations experienced by numerous newly independent countries politically educated them not to accept the bi-polar world politics and play to the tune of super powers, thus merely replacing the old masters by new ones as this again subordinate their independence and sovereignty to bloc leaders. This very political consciousness and resultant action strengthened the forces of peace throughout the world.

Therefore, the third NAM summit took a serious view of international situation and called for peace in areas torn by war. The conference, especially reviewed the situation in Middle East and Indochina. It also noted

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10. Willets, P., The Non-Aligned Movement, The origins of Third World Alliance, Bombay, 1978, p. 52.

with concern the agonising war going on in Vietnam and the presence of the foreign forces on Korean land. The conference urged upon the world opinion to immediately take measures to stop aggressive wars going on in Middle East, Indochina and Vietnam. The conference, emphatically came out against the continued oppression and subjugation of the South African people by the racist colonial minority regime. The Conference noted with concern the fact that the collusion powerful countries with the racist regime in pretoria was adding fuel to the fire in South Africa. The Conference also underlined the fact that racism, apartheid and neo-colonialism were seriously undermining world peace and stability by perpetuating economic and political exploitation of developing countries. Such trends if continued to be perpetuated and patronised by powerful countries would jeopardise the prospects for peace in future.

The conference emphasised that the pursuit of world peace was the very raison de'tre of Non-Aligned Movement. It called upon the member countries to

unitedly stand against international aggression, oppression and exploitation and to strengthen the United Nations so that voice of peace and progress countries to be raised from this most important platform of international relations.

In view of the ever-increasingly devastating arms race and the potential - annihilation of mankind through large stockpiles of highly sophisticated nuclear armaments with continuous upgradations and qualitative improvisations, the third NAM summit delegates repeated their well thought-out conviction, spelt out at Belgrade and Cairo summit Conferences of NAM countries that a complete disarmament under effective international safeguards was the most urgent task facing mankind then. Secondly, the conference welcomed the decision to celebrate 1970's as the "Disarmament Decade". The participating countries resolved to leave no stone unturned with a view to making the disarmament decade a success. They decided to cooperate among themselves and with other like-minded countries to devise comprehensive policies and strategies for the success of disarmament programme. The Conference felt

that while drawing up priorities of this programme, the priorities should be followed as hereunder:-

- (i) Measures in the field of nuclear disarmament, such as a cut-off in production of fissionable material for weapons purposes and its transfer to peaceful uses, stoppage of the production of nuclear weapons a comprehensive test ban, reduction and destruction of stocks piling of nuclear weapons .
- (ii) Other measures of priority in the disarmament field; an agreement prohibiting the development, production and stock piling of chemical and biological weapons and their elimination from the arsenals of all nations .
- (iii) Non-armament or confidence building measures, such as convention on the non-use of nuclear weapons, demilitarization of the sea-bed and the Ocean floor beyond an agreed limit, the establishment of nuclear free zones, etc. .<sup>11</sup>

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11. Ibid., p. 54.

In Fourth Summit Conference the participants emphasised that since Lusaka Conference, developments in the international situation have shown a stronger tendency towards peace in the advanced world, whereas, in other areas there are still sources of tension and wars which are becoming more acute because of deteriorating economic conditions in the developing countries.<sup>12</sup>

There is no peace around. The contemporary situation in Indonesia, Indochina, Middle East and many African and South American countries bears testimony to the large scale prevalence of wars and conflicts. A sort of colonial situation still prevails and imperialism conspires against the sovereignty and security of states. So long as there are colonial wars, apartheid and imperialist aggression, power politics and economic exploitation and plundering, peace will be limited both in principle and in scope. In a world which is already divided into the rich and poor countries. It would be dangerous to widen this division by restricting peace to the rich

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12. Ghosh, P.K. New Internal Economic Order, A Third World Perspective, London, Greenwood Press, 1984, p. 259.

regions in the world. In this connection, the non-aligned countries are simply interpreting the aspirations of the majority of the peoples as can be seen in the declarations adopted in Bandung, Cairo, Lusaka and Georgetown what all peoples want to be freed from the colonial yoke, where it still exists, to eradicate apartheid, Zionism and all forms of racial discrimination and segregation and to put an end to regimes which are inspired by and based on such tendencies. The conference reaffirmed the determination of the non-aligned countries to strictly observe the principles of sovereign equality and territorial integrity of all states, to refrain from the threat or use of force and to settle their disputes by peaceful means, in accordance with the principles of the United Nations Charter, and they called upon all states to do the same.

The Conference underlined the need for cooperation of non-aligned states, with all countries which oppose colonialism and neo-colonialism for the purpose of lending an active support to the armed struggle of African

liberation movements. The conference also stressed the need to end, the colonial domination in Latin America where it still exists. It reaffirmed complete solidarity of NAM countries with the people of this region. The conference called upon the United States to put an immediate end to any military presence or interference in the internal affairs of the peoples of Indo China and to respect the free exercise rights of the Indo Chinese peoples to self determination, which is a pre-requisite for the establishment of a just peace in this region.

The Conference of Heads of State or government called upon its member countries to give their diplomatic support to the provisional revolutionary government of South Vietnam, which is the only authentic representative of South Vietnamese population and to make a contribution to the reconstruction of war-damaged Vietnam. The Conference of NAM countries had very carefully studied the position of the peoples in South Africa, Namibia, Zimbabwe, Angola, Mozambique, Guinea Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands who are subjected to the worst forms

of exploitation, oppression and destruction, inflicted by the forces of colonialism neo-colonialism and racism which enjoy the political, economic and military support of some Western governments and of international capitalism.<sup>13</sup> The colonialist and racist regimes which are rampant in the region constitute moreover a direct threat to the free development of all the countries of Africa, particularly, Guinea, Congo, Senegal, Tanzania, Zaire, Zambia, Botswana Swaziland and Lesotho.

ii) Anti-Colonial Stand:

The problem of colonialism consumed the attention of participants at the first NAM Summit. Especially the emphasis was laid on the decolonisation of countries such as ANGOLA, ALGERIA and CONGO.

The participants noted with concern the continued repression of the people of ANGOLA by Portuguese authorities. It was underlined that bloodshed of the people of Angola

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13. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, Documents of the gatherings of Non-aligned countries, 1961-1982, Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi, 1983, p.113.



should be stopped forthwith and all peace loving countries, especially the member states of U.N.O. should come forward with a helping hand in order to establish a free sovereign and independent state of the Angola .

However, the Second Summit Conference expressed its full faith in the fundamental principle governing international relations, i.e., the principle of inviolability of territories of nations, big or small. The countries participating in the Conference had achieved their national sovereignty after undergoing intense liberation struggles. In view of the same they emphasised that they would not allow their sovereignty being compromised or their territorial integrity being violated by outsiders.<sup>14</sup>

In addition to the above, the conference expressed its solemn commitment to the fundamental socio-political and cultural right of all peoples to adopt the form of government they considered best suited for their overall development. Moreover, the participants in the Conference

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14. Ibid., p. 14.

recognised that one of the serious causes of international tensions lies in the problem of divided nations. They expressed full sympathy with such people and their desire for reunification. The use of force should not be restored to while dealing with such tensions as such an approach only leads to watering down of the international security.

The Conference, for example took up the question of Cyprus. In this regard, the conference called upon all states consensus with responsibilities under the Charter of the United Nations, and in particular under the article 2, Paragraph 4, not to violate the sovereignty, unity, independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus and not use any threat or use of force or intervention. The conference also urged to international community not to impose any unjust and unacceptable solution upon the cypriots.<sup>15</sup>

The Conference pointed out that foreign power interferences, pressures and interventions constitutes one of

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15. Ibid., p. 115.

the grossest violations of the principles of international law and peaceful co-existence. In view of the same the conference requested the government of United States of America to lift trade and commercial sanctions against Cuba. The Conference further urged both the governments of United States of America and Cuba to settle their mutual differences within the framework of dialogue and consultations in the light of the principles of international co-existence and cooperation.

The heads of state and government took up the question of colonialism. They pointed out that durable world peace cannot be achieved if considerable chunks of world community are kept continuously under foreign domination and their fundamental rights viz. freedom, independence and self-determination are flagrantly violated.

Imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism generate terrific international tensions and clashes as they jeopardise the very peace and security of the world. The participants deplored that U.N. Declaration calling for decolonising of Colonial countries had not been implemented everywhere.

Subsequently they gave a fresh call for unconditional, complete and final decolonisation of the colonised territories.

The conference also condemned the neo-colonialistic trends in international politics. The developed countries use multiple devices to browbeat already downtrodden nations. They employ such techniques as economic pressure, political interference, racial discrimination, subversion and brinkmanship, the tactics and devices characterising a neo-colonial international political culture. The participants recognised the nationalist forces in colonial countries as authentic representatives of the colonial peoples and asked the colonial powers to immediately initiate a dialogue with the leaders of the various liberation movements. The third Summit of non-aligned movement underlined the importance of U.N. Declaration on Decolonisation and the relevant U.N. General Assembly Resolutions accepting the inalienable rights of all peoples to independence and self-determination. The participants in the third Summit felt deeply concerned at the continuing

rule of oppressive regimes and colonial and racial exploitation leading to serious human, political and moral consequences.<sup>16</sup>

In view of the serious political challenges to international peace by colonial and racial forces the Conference appealed to France and Spain to allow as soon as possible the peoples of their colonies to exercise their right to self-determination under the auspices of U.N. and the O.A.U., resolved in case of Portugal, South Africa and the Zimbabwe to take following measures against them so long as they do not accept U.N. decision on decolonisation and racial discrimination.

(a) To impose an embargo on trade with these three countries.

(b) 'To sever diplomatic relations with Portugal, South Africa' and

(c) To deny landing rights and all facilities to any aircraft and vessel coming from or heading to South African, Portugal or Zimbabwe .

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16. Singh, J.S., A New Internal Economic Order, Towards a Fair Redistribution of the world's Resources, New Delhi, 1977, p. 31.

(d) To make substantial contribution to the special fund of the OAU liberation committee .

(e) To increase support and material aid to liberation movements through OAU, requested, accordingly, the Chairman of the NAM, to contact in the most appropriate manner, NATO countries especially USA, Great Britain, France, West Germany Italy and especially Japan to stop their assistance which covertly or overtly strengthen forces of colonialism and racialism in the African continent.<sup>17</sup>

Similarly, in the Fourth Summit Conference the heads of state and government of NAM countries had noted that imperialism is still the greatest stumbling block to the emancipation advancement of developing countries, which are striving to attain a standard of living in accordance with the most basic norms of welfare and human dignity. Imperialism is not only opposed to the economic social progress of developing countries but had also adopted an aggressive attitude towards those who stand in the way of its designs and seeks to impose social, political and economic structures

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17. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, Documents of the gatherings of the Non-Aligned countries, 1961-1982, Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi 1983, p. 205.

which facilitate foreign domination, dependence or neo-colonialism.

This situation is the result of the systematic policy pursued everywhere by imperialism, which does not change, even though its implementation may take on different forms, depending on place and circumstances. Furthermore, many countries are still subject to imperialist domination and neo-colonialist exploitation, which threaten the sovereignty the sovereignty of states and mortgage the growth of these nations. The situation explained the large gap which exists between the industrial and underdeveloped world and the constant widening of this gap. Policies have began to be pursued which are based on resort to open or disguised economic aggression, as illustrated by the multinational and monopolistic commercial, financial and industrial companies. In their struggle for an independent economic development and complete equality in international relations, the non-aligned countries either individually or collectively, with the support, of all progressive forces in the world, are successfully withstanding imperialist aggression and have thus emerged as an important force in the struggle against imperialist world.

iii) Economic Order:

The participants in the first Summit Conference strongly recommended that efforts should be made to square out the economic imbalances wrought out by the imperialist and colonialist legacy of the immediate past. They pointed out that the ever-widening economic gap between a few developed and the many underdeveloped nations should be closed through intensive industrial and agricultural progress of the developing nations. It was also recommended that a United Nations' Capital Development Fund be immediately established.<sup>18</sup>

The participants underlined the fact that all nations of the world have the right to unity, self-determination and independence by which they can determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development without any hindrance.

In the second Summit Conference of Non-Aligned heads of state and government, the participants were convinced

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18. Ibid., p. 206.



that world peace must result on the social basis of distributive justice at the international plans and continues condemnation of large sections of international community to poverty constitutes one of the gravest threats to world peace. The economic emancipation, they pointed out, was a pre-requisite for political independence. All the nations have the inalienable right to control and dispose of the wealth and resources as they deem fit their all-round development. The participating countries pledged their utmost commitment to cast off the yoke of underdevelopment. They also underlined the fact that it is the obligation of the entire international community to create congenial conditions for a just and egalitarian international economic order. Only in a just and equitable world economic order can all the nations' prosper, mature and realise their full structure and potential.

The participating countries pointed out that the then obtaining international economic structure and institutional mechanisms have failed to rectify the large scale imbalances between developed and developing economies.

Therefore, it was seriously felt that international cooperation should be intensified with a view to accelerating economic development in developing countries. It was accepted that Geneva Conference was a watershed in the struggle for new international economic policy. However, the results achieved were not adequate enough to meet out the essential requirements of the developing countries, although the guidelines set by Geneva Conference provided a second basis for economic cooperation in the future.

The participants in the second Conference called for rapid industrialisation of developing countries with a view to diversify their export trade. Most significantly, they also called upon all developing countries to intensify mutual cooperation on the basis of mutual respects, equality and mutual benefit. The developing countries are duty-bound to accord favourable terms of trade to other developing countries. Only then can they withstand their economic exploitation by the developed nations of the world community.<sup>19</sup>

The Conferees of the Third Summit expressed the determination of the non-aligned countries to achieve

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19. Ibid., p. 212.

economic emancipation, to strengthen their independence and to make their contribution to world peace and economic and social progress for all mankind. They also examined the lack of progress in the implementation of the policies and objectives declared by them at Belgrade and Cairo and those enshrined in the Charter of Algiers. Disturbed by the rapidly widening gap between the economies of the rich and the poor nations, which constitutes a threat to the independence of developing countries and to international peace and security. Nothing with concern the negative trends which exclude the developing countries in particular, the decline of the share of the developing countries from the mainstream of world economic life despite their endeavour to participate in contemporary progress. Nothing in particular the decline in the share of developing countries in world export trade from one third in 1950 to 1/6th in 1969. Believed that the poverty of developing nations and their economic dependence on those in affluent circumstances constitute a structural weakness in the present world economic order.

They maintained that the persistence of an inequitable world economic system inherited from the colonial past and

continued the present neo-colonialism poses insurmountable difficulties in breaking the bondage of poverty and shackles of economic dependence. Recognised that the massive investments in the economic and social progress of mankind could be made of agreements ~~were~~ reached to reduce expenditure on armaments.

In Fourth Summit Conference the participants made a detailed study of changes in the economic and social situation of developing countries in the international context since the Lusaka Conference, with special reference to the United Nations' international development strategy, the third UNCTAD, the United Nations for multilateral trade negotiations reform of the monetary system and the important Conference of foreign ministers of Non-Aligned countries in Georgetown.

#### The Economic Situation of Developing Countries:

In the face of this increasingly alarming situation many factors, the important of which lie in the aspiration of peoples to throw all foreign domination and to take their destiny in their own hands, have compelled the international Community to define various policies with the aim of establishing new international economic relations.

The desire of the great majority of advanced countries to perpetuate the present order to their own advantage, with only superficial heed to the preoccupation of the developing countries, has particularly nullified all our attempts to make progress.

#### Economic Cooperation:

The Heads of State or Government had reaffirmed their conviction that responsibility for ensuring the rapid development of their countries primarily rests with themselves. They have stated that they are determined to rely totally on themselves, individually and collectively, to achieve their goals of development. To this end they have agreed that unremitting and coordinated efforts will be made at the national level to reduce unemployment, the poverty of the masses, inequality in income distribution and economic dependence on advanced, as well as to mobilize all national resources for an integrated and balanced development. They have also decided that all countries should

specific goals which are enumerated below.<sup>20</sup>

- (1) In order to promote trade between developing countries, each one of them should seek to double the rate of imports from other developing countries.
- (2) No developing country should approve more favourable terms for imports from advanced countries than those give to imports from developing countries.
- (3) Close cooperation should be established and consultations organised between the central banks of the developing countries in order to strengthen their monetary and financial cooperation and to investigate possibilities for a common financial institution to be established with this aim.
- (4) The developing countries should set up and strengthen associations of producers of the principal products which are important for the world economy in order to halt the deterioration in their terms of trade, eliminate unhealthy competition, prevent the harmful activities of multinational companies and strengthen their negotiation position.

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20. "Review of International Affairs", No. 792, April 1, 1983, p. 22.

The Heads of state and government solemnly affirmed their resolve to continue working to create all conditions, both in their countries and in international relations to accelerate their economic and social development and improve the living standard of their peoples.

They addressed a plea to the international community to put the goals of development back into their rightful place in the mechanism of the United Nations and to create a new system of international economic relations based on equality and the common interest of all countries.<sup>21</sup> The advanced and the developing countries should work together to solve mutual problems, setting themselves primarily the following objectives:

- (1) The developing countries should seek to overcome the resolutions expressed by some advanced countries when the international strategy of development was adopted and demand the fulfilment of the obligations which these countries have assumed.

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21. Ibid., p. 25.

- (2) Efforts should be made to investigate new areas of agreement and to expand the existing agreements in the framework of a scheduled programme, so as to meet the increasing needs of the developing countries. The advanced countries which have so far not applied the generalized system of preferences should do so immediately. In addition, the generalised system of preferences should be expanded to include agricultural and other products which are sensitive to price fluctuations in the market of advanced countries.
- (3) Liberalization of trade and the progressive elimination of tariffic barriers between advanced countries should be accompanied by corresponding measures to preserve the advantages enjoyed by developing countries under the generalization system of preferences.<sup>22</sup>
- (4) Efforts should be made to strengthen the export potential of developing countries particularly the adoption of necessary structural adjustments to be

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22. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, Documents of the gatherings of Non-Aligned countries, 1961-1982, Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi, 1983, p. 324.



effected in the economies of the advanced countries adjustment which led to a more rational divisions of labour at the international level.

iv) Apartheid:

In the first Summit Conference of NAM discussed strongly the policy of Apartheid practised by South African white-minority. The Government came under severe condemnation by the participating countries. It was pointed out that the policy of racial discrimination any where in the world was a grave violation of universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Charter of the United Nations. So the policy of racial discrimination was unequivocally condemned and a resolution passed demanding its immediate abandonment.

In the Second Summit Conference of Heads of state and government of non-aligned countries the question of racial discrimination seriously engaged, the attention of participants.<sup>23</sup> The most Odious manifestation of racial discrimination viz. apartheid came in for intense criticism

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23. Ibid., p. 327.

as it violates the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and age-old principle of human equality. So it was agreed upon, to ostracise all governments still participating racial discrimination until they give up their discriminatory unjust and inhumane policies. The white minority government of South Africa was considered to be an affront to the conscience of civilized world. It was pointed out that racially discriminatory government of South Africa intolerably unacceptable in the community of nations. The inhumane policies of South Africa were deemed to be a threat to international peace and security. Therefore, all the countries of the world committed to peace must leave no stone unturned for the restoration of human and fundamental rights of the black majority of South Africa.

In view of the above considerations, the participating countries expressed and reaffirmed solemnly their absolute respect for the ethnic or religious minorities in protection in particular against the crimes of genocide or any other violation of fundamental rights.<sup>24</sup>

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24. Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-aligned countries, New Delhi, 1983, p. 55.

Sanction Against the Republic of South Africa:

- (1) The Conference rejected to note the Pretoria Government's obstinacy in defying the conscience of mankind had been strengthened by the refusal of its friends and allies, particularly, some major powers to implement United Nations resolutions concerning sanction against South Africa;
- (2) The Conference therefore:
  - (a) Called upon all states to boycott all South African goods and to refrain exporting goods, especially arms ammunition, oil and mineral to South Africa;
  - (b) Called upon all states which have not yet done so to break off diplomatic consular and other relations with South Africa;
  - (c) Requested the government represented at this conference to deny airport and overflying facilities to aircraft and port facilities to ships proceeding to and from South Africa and to discontinue all road and railway traffic with that country;

(d) Demanded the release of all persons imprisoned, interned or subjected to other restrictions on account of their opposition the policy of apartheid.

The Conference condemned the government of Portugal for its obstinate refusal to recognise the inalienable right of the peoples of those territories to self determination and independence which continue to be colonised by her in flagrant violation of United Nations Declaration thereof.

The participating countries urged all states not to recognise the independence of the then Southern Rhodesia if proclaimed under the rule of the racist minority, and instead to give favourable considerations according to recognition to an African nationalist government in exile, should such a government be set up. To this effect the conference states its opposition to the Sham Consultations through tribal chiefs envisaged by the minority government of Southern Rhodesia.

The conference reaffirmed the inalienable right of the people of South West Africa to self determination and

independence and condemned the government of South Africa for its persistent refusal to cooperate with the United Nations in the implementation of the pertinent resolutions of the General Assembly.

The third NAM Summit fully reaffirmed the legitimacy of the struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa against the white-minority regime's policies of apartheid and racial discrimination. It called for an immediate end to such policies with a view to resolve their fundamental human rights and freedoms. It condemned all inhuman policies of torture and degrading treatment meted out to oppressively imprisoned freedom fighters of South Africa. It also condemned the uncalled for continuing presence of South African troops in Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe, subverting these peoples fundamental and human rights and called for an immediate and unconditional withdrawal of these forces.<sup>25</sup> The Summit Conference also condemned the political and economic collaboration of countries like U.S.A., France, Great Britain, Federal Republic of Germany, Italy and Japan with racist regime of South Africa which encourages it to

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25. Op.cit., p. 325.

continue in racist policies and programmes. The Conference also deplored the trading partnerships of these countries with South African regime, in violation of the resolutions of U.N. and appeals made by OAU. The Conference asked all NAM countries to refrain from entering into any trading collaboration with South African racist regime and immediately break the economic ties, if any, with it. The Conference solemnly reaffirmed the need for effective international action with a view to dismantling apartheid in South Africa, as otherwise there is no alternative to bloody battlefields in that part of the world, jeopardising simultaneously international security and peace. The Conference further expressed full support to the people of South Africa waging a valliant battle against entrenched forces of apartheid. It also appealed to all countries to render all material and moral support to the people of South-Africa who struggle for their fundamental freedoms and human rights in the face of an oppressive regime.<sup>26</sup>

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26. Op.cit., p. 326.

The participants of the Fourth Summit Conference were seriously concerned about the large-scale expansion of military means of South-Africa throughout that region, which represented a danger to peace and security in Africa and in the world. Noted it with condemnation how the racist regime was applying a policy of lies in the Bantustans instead of granting economic, political freedoms and rights to the people. Deplored the fact that some NATO powers continue to extend economic, financial and military aid to the racist regime in South Africa. Reaffirmed its full support for the people of South Africa in their lawful struggle against apartheid and racial discrimination and for national liberation and acquisition of sovereignty. Acclaimed the confirmed determination of the people of South Africa in their struggle for national liberation. Denounced the permanent economic, financial and military aid extended South Africa by some NATO powers, particularly the USA, France, Germany and the United Kingdom, aid which enabled the government in Pretoria to conduct and intensify its policy of oppression and apartheid. They called on all states and especially the Western Big powers and Japan, to discontinue all scientific cooperation with South Africa

particularly in the field of armament and atomic energy, and to refrain from granting patents and licences to that country.

Demanded that all non-aligned countries take at once all the necessary measures including diplomatic and if possible, economic ones both individually and within the United Nations, to persuade countries encouraging investments in South Africa to withdraw their capital from it.<sup>27</sup>

v) Palestine:

The participants in the first Conference of Non-Aligned countries declared their unflicking support for the full restoration of all, the rights of the Arab people of Palestine. It was unanimously emphasised that the rights of the Arab people of Palestine should be restored in accordance with the resolutions of the United Nations.<sup>28</sup>

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27. Indian and Foreign Review, vol. 20, No. 11, New Delhi March 15-31, 1983, p. 33.

28. Ibid., p. p. 34.



The Second Summit Conference was extremely concerned at the continued exilement of Palestinian people from their homeland. The delegates stressed the need for resettlement of Palestinian refugees in their homeland without further delay. They asked the United Nations to impress upon Israel not to Jeopardise the genuine interests of the people of Palestin. They also requested the world opinion to be specially concerned towards the rehabilitation of Palestinian people and also help the restoration of their political rights. They also impressed upon the super powers not to make Palestinian question a point of prestige and hinder the progress of a suitable solution of the problem thereby. The conference also asked third world countries to device collective strategies for an early solution of the Palestinian problem. In its political resolution the Summit delegates expressed their solidarity with tortured people of Palestine and reaffirmed their continued support to the restoration of political rights of the people of Palestine.

The participants at the Third Summit Conference reaffirmed previous resolutions adopted by non-aligned countries which had drawn attention to the dangerous situation in the Middle East

as well as to the fact that continued occupation of the territories of three non-aligned countries constitutes a violation of United Nations principles, challenges to the aims of non-alignment, and grave threat to peace. Considered it impermissible for Israel to keep the territories of three sovereign and non-aligned countries under occupation and continually to pursue the policy of flagrant use of force and to use the occupation of these territories as a means of pressure for imposing solutions. Reiterated the indamissibility of the acquisition of territories by force and called for the immediate withdrawal of Israel from all Arab territories occupied after the 5th of June 1967.

Declared that full respect for the inalienable rights of the Arab people of Palestine is a prerequisite to peace in the Middle East. Called for the full restoration of the rights of the Arab people of Palestine in their usurped homeland and reaffirmed their support in their struggle for national liberation and against colonialism and racism. Recommended to the UN to take adequate measures against Israel if it continues to disregard the UN efforts of establishing peace based on justice in accordance with the security council resolutions of November 22, 1967.

The participants at the Fourth Non-aligned Summit Conference recalled the earlier resolutions of non-aligned countries on the difficult situation which prevailed in the Middle East and which stem from the persistence of Israel in its policy of occupation of territories of the non-aligned countries and which represents a threat to the security of non-aligned countries and international security and peace.<sup>29</sup> Reaffirmed the legitimacy of the struggle of the Palestinian people against colonialism, Zionism and racism and for the complete restoration of its national rights, a struggle which is an inseparable part of the liberation movement in the world. Reasserted the impermissibility of territorial conquest by means of force since that was in overt contradictions with the principles of the United Nations Charter and represented a serious danger to peace in the world.

Considered that Israel's policy of aggression and occupation of Arab territories deprives the countries in those regions of their right to exercise sovereignty over their natural resources, which was at variance with the aims

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29. Ibid., p. 25.

of the non-aligned countries and the strategy of development of the United Nations and the resolutions of the United Nations confirming the right of states to exercise sovereignty over the natural resources located on all their territories.

Demanded that Israeli forces withdraw at once and unconditionally from all the Arab territories which they occupied after June 1967, reaffirmed its full and effective support for Egypt, Syria and Jordan in their struggle for recovering their occupied territories with all available means.<sup>30</sup> Called on the non-aligned countries to extend support to the Arab people of Palestine in their struggle against colonialism, Zionist, racism and settling of colonialists and for the restoration of their national rights in their entirety, underlined that complete restoration of those rights represented the basic condition of a just and durable peace and declared that the organisation for the liberation of Palestine is the legitimate representative of the Palestine people and their legitimate struggle.

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30. Two-Decades of Non-alignment, Documents of the gatherings of Non-aligned countries, 1961-1981, Ministry of External Affairs, March 1983, p. 406.

Called on the ministers of foreign affairs of member countries to set out the stand of the non-aligned countries with regard to this resolution at next meeting of the United Nations General Assembly.

Apart from these five major issues the participants of non-aligned countries also discussed some resolutions. This Summit was of course, of historical importance. The participants strongly condemned the colonialism and expressed their full support for peace and disarmament. They called on all non-aligned member countries to cooperate and work for the countries who were still under the domination of imperialism. In this very summit they also discussed that they did not want to create a bloc, neither they wanted to join either of the blocs. They also highlighted the economic problem of the third world countries.

At the Second Summit Conference the participants passed some special resolutions:

vi) Special Resolution I.

"The Conference of Heads of State and Government on Non-aligned countries meeting in Cairo from Oct 5 to 10, 1964.

Considered their common will to work for understanding between peoples and for international cooperation. Reaffirmed their solidarity with the American states fighting for the consolidation of their independence and the total emancipation of their continent, through concerted action and close cooperation. Nothing with satisfaction that in that historic documents, the Charter of Addis Ababa, adopted on May 29, 1963, and in subsequent decision, the American states members of the organisation of American Unity had unreservedly adhered to the positive policy of non-alignment in relation to all great blocs.

Considered the outstanding work for peace and harmony which the organisation of American unity had accomplished, since its recent creation, in the interest of both the American continent and the international community as a whole".

vii) Special Resolution II.

"The Heads of state and government attending the Second Conference of Non-Aligned countries are happy to express their warmest appreciation to the brave people,

the government and the distinguished president of United Arab Republic, Gamel Abdel Nassir for the superb way in which they organised this conference, both materially and morally and for the generous and most brotherly hospitality extend to all delegations".<sup>31</sup>

In the third Summit Conference of non-aligned countries the participants discussed some political resolutions.

viii) Resolution on Zimbabwe

Recalled further all subsequent UN relations concerning the situation in Zimbabwe and particularly UN Security Council resolutions 232 (1966) of December 16, 1966, 253 (1968) of May 29, 1968, and 277 (1970) of March 18, 1970, in which the council determined the situation in Zimbabwe constituted a threat to international peace and security.

(1) that the measures so far taken or recommended have failed to bring the rebellion in Zimbabwe to an end;

2) that some states, contrary to resolutions 232 and 235 of UN Security Council and to this obligations under article

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31. Ibid., p. 407.

25 of the UN Charter, have not only failed to stop trading with illegal regime of Zimbabwe but have also increased their trade with the regime;

(3) that the governments of South Africa and Portugal have continued to give assistance to the illegal regime of Zimbabwe, thus diminishing further the effects of the decided upon by the security council; and

(4) that the situation in Zimbabwe continues to deteriorate as a result of the continued presence of South African forces in the territory and the introduction by the illegal racist minority regime of new measures aimed at entrenching itself as well as repressing the American people in Zimbabwe, in violation of the UN General Assembly Resolution 1514 (XV).

Fully endorses the OAU Resolution CM/Res 235(XV) adopted by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government and its seventh ordinary session condemned the failure and refusal of the government of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, as the administering power, to take effective measures, including the use of force, to bring down the illegal racist minority regime and to restore the rights



of the people of Zimbabwe. Further condemned the Great Britain's connivance at South Africa's armed intervention in Zimbabwe, which intervention is an act of aggression against the people and territorial integrity of Zimbabwe. Affirmed that the future of Zimbabwe can not be negotiated with an illegal regime.

Urged all member states to work for the maximum isolation of the rebel minority racist regime in Zimbabwe, and in view of the armed conflict in the territory and the inhumane treatment of prisoners to ensure the application to that situation of Geneva convention of 1950 relating to the treatment of prisoners of war and Geneva convention of 1949 relating to the protection of civilian persons in time of war.

ix) Resolution on Namibia:

Recalled the Resolution of the UN General Assembly No. 514 (XV) of December 14, 1960, which contains the declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, the resolutions of the Security Council No.264 (1969) and No.276 (1970) in which the Security Council endorsed the decision of the General Assembly to terminate South Africa's mandate over South-West Africa (now Namibia) and decided to take direct responsibility for this territory until it becomes independent

and in which the constant presence of South African government. Recalled the further resolution of the UN Security Council No.269 (1969) of August 12, 1969, in which the Security Council called upon the government of South Africa to withdraw its administration from Namibia Oct. 4, 1969. Called upon all states to coordinate efforts to implement the decision of the United Nations and to end the rule of South Africa over Namibia and to establish the sovereignty of the United Nations in Namibia, called upon all governments to refrain from sales and deliveries to South Africa of any weapons, military equipment or material that could be used for military purposes, called upon trade union organisations in all countries to refuse to deliver to South Africa any weapons, any military equipment or other material that could be used for military purposes.

Demanded the imposition of the full and mandatory economic sanctions provided for in Chapter 7 of the United Nations Charter and certainly the literal application of paragraph 5 of the Security Council resolution No. 276(1970). Pointed out the high morality of African children in

Nambia, which is the result of the deliberate policy of South African government, calculated to exterminate part of the African population be carried out by the UN and the OAU in order to establish if the policy pursued by the South African government presented the crime of genocide according to article VIII of the convention on genocide.

x) Resolution on Israeli Aggression Against Lebanon:

The Third Conference of non-aligned countries held in Lusaka from September 8th to 10th, 1970, having had the report given by the Head of the Lebanese delegation of the states aggression by Israeli forces against Southern Lebanon. Considered that this aggression will inevitably increase tension in this area. Being informed of this resolution adopted by the security council on September 5, 1970, which called for the immediate and complete withdrawal of Israeli forces from Lebanese territory. Having in mind that the preservation of peace is one of the basic principles of the Charter of the United Nations and of the non-aligned nations, completely aware of its responsibility in connection with the preservation of internal peace and security. Taking into consideration the resolution of security council which called for the immediate and complete withdrawal of Israeli forces from Lebanese territory.

Expressed its deep concern because of the frequent Israeli aggression against Lebanese territory.

Called on all member states of the world organization to make all the efforts and undertake all measures to prevent a repetition of such acts of aggression.

xi) Resolution on Cyprus:

The Heads of State or Government reaffirmed their conviction that the Cyprus problem should be solved peacefully, without any outside interference or intervention, on the basis of respect of cyprus unrestricted sovereignty and independence and the internationally accepted democratic principles including the safeguarding of the legitimate rights of the cypriot Turkish community and the criteria laid down in their declaration of October 9, 1964, in Cairo and in conformity with the Charter and the resolutions of the United Nations.

xii) Resolution on South-East Asia:

The participants were deeply concerned with the continuation and the escalation of the war caused by the presence of foreign armed forces especially those of the United States of America in Indo China, resulting in

untold suffering, loss of human lives and property to the peoples of the region.

Pointing to the grave consequences of extension of foreign intervention to Cambodia, which, as a staunch follower of peace and non-alignment had successfully defended its independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity. Reaffirmed their commitment to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, the universal Declaration on Human Rights and the Declaration of the Belgrade and Cairo Conferences of the non-aligned Nations.

Reaffirmed their full adherence to the fundamental principles of peaceful international relations, in accordance with which the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all states, great and small, are inviolable and must be respected. Determined to oppose any attempts to compromise sovereignty and territorial integrity of any state, pledges support for the right of all peoples to adopt without any outside interference in the form of governments

Affirmed its full support for the heroic struggle which the people of Indo China states continued to wage

for freedom and independence. Expressed the hope that the Paris talks would lead as quickly as possible to a lasting settlement which will enable the people of Vietnam to decide their destiny by themselves and also help in a peaceful solution of the problems of Laos and Cambodia, called the immediate and total and unconditional withdrawal of all foreign forces from Vietnam to enable the Vietnamese people to exercise their right of self-determination without foreign interference.<sup>32</sup>

Appealed for the peaceful solution of the problems of Laos and Cambodia ensuring their independence, territorial integrity, sovereignty and unity.

The Fourth Summit Conference also discussed some burning political problems.

xiii) Problem of Korea:

The Fourth Summit Conference of NAM countries assembled in Algiers from September 5 to 9, 1973. Taking into consideration that Korea had been divided for nearly thirty years.

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32. Alexeyev, Y., Vonogradova, L. et al., NAM History and Reality, A Study Bangalore, 1987, p. 142.

Nothing that invisible progress had been made in 1972 on the road to a peaceful reunification of Korea but that obstacles had appeared since then.

Demanded that an end be put to foreign interference in Korea and the Korean people guaranteed the right to self-determination so that they could settle their affairs by themselves and solve the question of the reunification of Korea by peaceful means. Taking account of the desire of the Korean people to reunite their country and of its unanimous opposition to the plan for a simultaneous admission of Korea to the UNO in the form of two Koreas, which would perpetuate the division of the country. Requested the withdrawal of foreign troops stationed in South Korea and an end to foreign interference in the internal affairs of Korea in any form whatsoever. Asked also that the 28th meeting of the UN General Assembly. Considered the question of Korea and declared itself in favour of the withdrawal of foreign troops stationed in South Korea under the UN auspices and disbanding of the UN Commission for the unification and the reconstruction of Korea, which would contribute to

a peaceful and independent reunification of Korea. Declared that the admission of Korea to the UNO under the name of a single state can only ensure after a complete reunification of Korea or the formation of confederation of the North and South.

xiv) Problem of Cambodia:

The participants of the Conference recalled the resolution of the Conference in Georgetown. Recalled that independent and non-aligned Cambodia, until then a Zone of Peace, became involved by the antinationalist State coup of March 1970 in the aggressive American War in Indo China.

Recalled the legality and legitimacy of the Royal government headed by prince Norodom Sihanouk, a victim of a State Coup against Cambodian neutrality, considered that the collective recognition it has granted GRUNK signifies acknowledgement of the just struggle of the Cambodian people and firm support for their independence, sovereignty and neutrality.<sup>33</sup>

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33. Ibid., p. 145.



Reaffirmed its full support to the five items Declaration of Prince Norodom Sihanouk, Head of the State of Cambodia, March 23, 1970, according to which the Cambodian problem must be solved in accordance with those five items and the political programme of FUNK. Demanded the aggressive acts against the Kingdom of Cambodia which constitute a violation of the UN Charter, particularly the bombing raids by the USA. Demanded that the US government cease all acts of aggression against Cambodia, all interference in its internal affairs, particularly all assistance to the regime in Phnom Penh and that it withdraw American military personnel and foreign forces fighting in Cambodia.

xv) Problem of Vietnam:

The participants recalled the resolution adopted at the Summit Conference in Lusaka and at the Conference in Georgetown. Taking account with satisfaction of the termination of the war and the restoration of peace in Vietnam, the act of the international conference on Vietnam and the joint communiqué of June 13, 1973.

Seriously concerned because of the violation of the basic provisions of the agreement and act on the international

Conference on Vietnam on the part of the USA and the Saigon administration, violations which had seriously aggravated their situation in the part of the world since the agreement came into force.

Welcomed the signing of the agreement on the termination of the war and restoration of peace in Vietnam and the acts of the international Conference on Vietnam and considered the victory of the Vietnamese people as a common victory of the large family of non-aligned countries and all peoples fighting against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and for peace, national independence democracy and social progress.

Acclaimed the considerable efforts made by the government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the provisional revolutionary government of the Republic of South Vietnam. The only authentic representative of the South Vietnamese population with the aim of implementing the Paris agreements on Vietnam and the acts of the international Conference on Vietnam.

Called on the non-aligned countries to extend and intensify support to the provisional Revolutionary government of the Republic of South Vietnam in all fields political, moral and diplomatic in its just struggle for setting up a peaceful, independent, neutral and democratic South Vietnam which would tend towards a peaceful reunification of the country, and to offer every material aid for the reconstruction of Vietnam.

xvi) Problem of Namibia:

The Conference noted with satisfaction the intensification of the armed struggle by Namibia people under the leadership of the OPSOA. The Conference considered it to be an encouraging sign and noted with satisfaction the successful political mobilization of Namibian people carried out by the OPSOA, which had finally and completely thwarted the machination and intrigues of the unlawful authorities of South Africa aimed at breaking up the territorial integrity of Namibia.

The Conference Vigorously condemned the alarming upsurge of killings, arrests, torture and imprisonment

of members and leaders of the OPSOA by the unlawful racist authorities of South Africa in Namibia. The Conference pledged itself to increase its material, moral and diplomatic support to the Namibian fighters, which it offered through the OPSOA.

In agreement with the desire of the Namibian people expressed through the voice of the OPSOA, the recommendation of the UN Council for Namibia and the Resolution of latest Summit Conference of the OAU, the Conference declared itself in favour of a discontinuance of the dialogue between the UN Secretary General and the unlawful South-African regime in Namibia.

The Conference noted with anxiety the presence of a consulate of the Federal Republic of Germany in Namibia, which was<sup>a</sup> violation of the resolutions and opinions of the UN General Assembly, the UN Security Council and the international court of justice which had ended the mandate of South-Africa over Namibia and requested that all countries break off all agreements relating to Namibia and signed with South-Africa.

To recapitulate, the first four consecutive Summit Conferences of NAM Heads of State and Government were concerned with such issues as peace, disarmament, development and anti-imperialism and they also underlined the importance of resolving such international topical questions as the problem of Palestine, and problem of apartheid in South Africa. Apart from these issues the question of distributive justice in terms of international trade and aid also exercised the minds of NAM Summiteers. The question arises as to whether NAM Summits did make a meaningful contribution to the resolution of these conflicts or not. What was the reaction of super powers towards the Summit level NAM deliberations and recommendations. One can safely assume that NAM operations did have an impact as a countervailing force in the highly volatile political atmosphere of cold-war years. The two super-powers differed radically in their responses and reactions towards NAM deliberations in view of the radical polarisation in their over-all approaches towards international questions and conflicts. The Soviet Union's rise to superpowerdom was mainly through a relentless pursuit of parity with USA in terms of highly sophisticated war machinery including the possession of deadliest of nuclear

armaments. It could manage to earmark massive military budgets in view of the state control of public finances, central planning and limited personal properties - features built in the very system of Soviet Socialist model of management and governance. However, unlike U.S.A. Soviet Union was never an economic super power. In view of the same, United States of America always functioned from a position of strength and mostly retained the initiative and played offensive in international arena. Besides it had the active cooperation of NATO countries and Japan which are formidable economic and military powers in their own right. Additionally, USA being predominantly a nation of European migrants, its approach to international relations was always coloured by its inherited European moorings, postulates and assumptions. In point of fact, the State of Israel was created by the active support of United Kingdom, France and United States of America. So the resolutions regarding the restitution of Palestinian rights fell flat on deaf American ears. They could not have cared less for the NAM support for Palestinian people. Similarly, they actively supported, despite their public protestations against apartheid, the white-minority regime

of South Africa for their own economic and commercial reasons. So the outrage expressed by NAM resolutions at the system of apartheid perpetrated by whites on black majority in South African was also not sympathetically received by American centres of authority. As against the responses of USA, USSR did always appreciate the NAM concern regarding Palestinian people and black majority of South Africa. The NAM protestations against remnants of imperialism in Africa and neo-colonialism in terms of international trade and aid were also rejected by USA and NATO countries with disdain. They interpreted these protestations to be USSR inspired propaganda against western democracies professing liberalism, free enterprise and fundamental human rights. Similarly NAM concern for disarmament and international peace was interpreted by USA as an advocacy for mending fences with the "evil empire of communism" in Soviet Russia, against which, as they perceived it, they were waging a holy war.

So, one can say, while NAM concerns were sympathetically heard by USSR, albeit due to its own political

compulsions and she thought NAM countries to be her natural allies in her fight against "western hegemonism", USA felt always suspicious about the very *raison, de, tre* and *modus operandi* of NAM.

In the end, again, a word about the main issues underlined by NAM Summit deliberations. The issues they repeatedly emphasised were those of disarmament, world peace and international security. They also repeatedly resolved against imperialism and neo-colonialism. They expressed their total solidarity with the exiled people of Palestine and subjugated blacks of South Africa. They also emphasised the restructuring of the international economic relations, although NIEO Slogan was shortly to follow in the NAM deliberations.

However, in view of the colonial history and long-drawn-out political subjugation of third world countries, they concentrated their maximum attention in first four Summits against the danger of re-emergence of imperialism in the form of neo-colonialism. So, they again and again emphasised the need for disarmament and world peace and



security etc. They emphasised a world order firmly built on and committed to non-intervention in the internal affairs of a nation either by regional powers or super powers. That could again lead to colonisation and subjugation of the third world. They stressed again and again for a demilitarised especially for a denuclearised world. The emphasis is understandable. The nuclear powers continue to hold the entire future of human civilisation to raison. The question of a Palestine, of a South Africa, of a Kampuchea or a Vietnam et al., can be resolved provided we are basically assured of a continued civilisational march. So understandably such vertical questions were not that much stressed in comparison to the problems of disarmament, world security and re-emergence of imperialism, which have the potential of horizontally destroying the very fabric and texture of human civilization.

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C H A P T E R - I I I

NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER

1976-1986

C H A P T E R -IIINew International Economic Order: 1976-1986

The first four Summits of non-aligned Heads of State and Government were mostly concerned with political, diplomatic and strategic questions. All these four summits and even the proceedings of Bandung Conference were held when Cold War was at its peak and third world countries most of them represented by NAM were struggling for their very unkeep and for consolidating their independence and freedom in the wider comity of nations. Those were the years when non-aligned countries were overwhelmed by survival syndrome. In fact, many African nations were still struggling to shuffle off the colonial coils in late fifties and early sixties. So NAM countries had to guard their sovereign status and give moral and political support to nations still waging freedom struggle against their European colonial masters.

In view of the same, the agenda of first four NAM Summits was situationally determined. The political resolutions passed in first four Summits were anti-colonial anti-imperialistic and pro-independence in nature.

The first four Summits were also greatly concerned about world peace as during the same period United States

of America and Union of Soviet Socialist Republics et al., were engaged in perfecting the deadliest weaponry of war. So the NAM resolutions invariably pleaded for disarmament and peace.

However, during the early seventies the political Scenario changed, With the exception of a few colonial pockets in Central and South Africa, all the third world countries had attained and somewhat stabilised their independence. Naturally, economic, commercial and financial problems crept up in newly liberated countries. These countries had already been exploited by colonial powers and in view of their proliferating millions faced the questions of poverty, unemployment, illiteracy, mal-nutrition etc. To add fuel to the fire, their abundant raw materials were still being exported at nominal rates to technologically advanced West and North and re-exported to them as so-called finished products in terms of Pharmaceuticals, textiles, machine-tools and above all weapon systems. This inherent and inbuilt inequitable feature of international trade militated against the

very survival and economic viability of third world countries.

Therefore, from the fifth NAM Summit held at Colombo in Sri Lanka, in 1976, onwards, economic priorities dominated the deliberations of NAM Summits. A new call was given from the platform of NAM; the call for a new International Economic Order. The subsequent Summits forcefully pleaded for the establishment of a New International Economic Order. They took up the question of International trade and aid at UN and other regional and international forums. These deliberations have simultaneously underlined the need for North-South dialogue and South-South Cooperation.

i) Economic Condition of Third World Countries:

The contemporary international system is structurally divided between two sub-systems, one small but dominant and the other large but subordinate. The dominant system consists primarily of Euro-American States and Japan which have acquired vast amount of economic, technological and military power and this power position has

established their dominance. The subordinate system, consists of a large majority of Afro-Asian and Latin American states which are poor and underdeveloped. Underdevelopment is the legacy of colonial era. Even political independence could not provide them with economic independence. They, therefore, strove for a revolutionary modernization to develop their natural resources and raise the standard of living of their people. But at every stage the present day international economic order hampers them from achieving this goal.

Imperialism has devastated three quarters of the world, introducing an "order of Poverty", an "order of inequality" and an order of "exploitation". The backwardness of technology is also the result of long subjugation. The exploitation by the developed countries, the gap between the developed countries and the underdeveloped countries is gradually widening. Political independence has not resulted into economic self-reliance and for them economic imperialism continues as before.

To this, day, the developing countries account for less than one fifth of the total world trade, and their

share is gradually declining. Three quarters of their exports go to the developed countries, and a few absorb them fully. Four fifths of all earnings from exports are generated by about a dozen commodities, excluding oil. At the level of production these commodities represent a total value of about 30 billion, whereas after manufacture their values go up to \$ 200 billion. The added values accrue predominantly to the Developed countries. The price of raw material which is supplied by developed countries fluctuates considerably, posing grave threats to the economies of those countries on one or few exportable commodities.<sup>1</sup>

In the contemporary international system, in about half of the third world countries, a single capital rich country gives three fourth of financial assistance and in most of these countries foreign private investment is controlled by multinational corporations. They are dependent on the developed countries for technology about

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1. Agarwal, S., Third World and the New International Economic Order, Jaipur, 1985, p. 55.

96 percent of the world's research and Development capabilities are concentrated in their hands and 94 percent of the patents are held by them. Even out of the remaining 6 percent most of the patents are held by the foreigners.

The age of imperialism created a world of dominant and dependent nations. Today, in spite of political equality and sovereignty, economically and technologically the world is divided between two categories of states. There are "haves" and "have-nots". Mao-Tse-Tung had propounded a theory in the late 1950s pointing out that the "villages" of the world, should organise themselves into the bastions of global revolution and then encircle and eventually destroy the cities.<sup>2</sup>

The gap between the rich and the poor countries is widening. It can be assessed from the following facts. The developed countries numbering nearly two dozen have \$5,000 to \$16,000 per capita income whereas more than one hundred underdeveloped countries have nearly \$1,00 to

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2. Tuzumkhamedor, R.A., The Non-Aligned Movement, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1985, p. 120.



\$ 1,000 per capita income. In 1980s, the total production of the world was US \$7,900 billion of which more than \$6,500 billion was generated by the developed economies. It explains that 83 per cent of world's income came from less than 1/3rd of the world's population. Another aspect of the underdeveloped countries is revealed by the fact that almost 80 per cent of its population is rural compared to less than 35 percent in the Developed Countries. In terms of the percentage of the people engaged in agriculture in less developed countries, 66 percent are engaged in agriculture compared to 21 percent in the Developed Countries. The data proved that productivity of agriculture labour is almost 35 percent greater in North America compared to that of Asia and Africa. The reason for low productivity are primitive technology, poor organisation, sub-division and fragmentation of land and limited physical and capital inputs.<sup>3</sup>

The unequal strength in the international system is manifested not only in the dominant power of the rich nations controlling the pattern of trade but in their

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3. Agarwal, S., op.cit., p. 58.

ability to dictate terms in which their technology, foreign aid and private capital are going to be transferred.

In the process, the values, attitudes, institutions and standards of behaviour of the first and the second world also get transferred there by creating the situation in which the developed countries could perpetuate their domination and wherein a system of economic, technological, political and cultural imperialism would continue. A new strategy of monopolisation and maximisation of power has also been evolved. The developing countries want to democratise and thereby decentralise power which is the crux of the problem of New International Economic Order.

The broad thrust of the struggle for NIEO is the elimination of colonialism, imperialism and neo-colonialism in all their manifestations. The historical process of decolonisation and emergence of Afro-Asian and Latin American countries posed a problem of working in the liberal economic system which created a world of dependence. The problem was stated in the Declaration of the first non-aligned Summit in Belgrade 1961, It said;

"The Heads of State or Government of Non-aligned countries, noting that there are crises that lead towards a world conflict in the transition from an old order based on domination to a new order based on cooperation between nations founded on freedom, equality and social justice for the promotion of prosperity".<sup>4</sup>

Considering that the dynamic processes and forms of social change often result in or represent a conflict between the old established and new emerging forces; considering that a lasting peace can be achieved only if this confrontation leads to a world where the domination of colonialism, imperialism and neo-colonialism in all their manifestations is radically eliminated.

The demand for restructuring the international economic order is an essential component of complete colonisation. In the absence of economic emancipation, political independence is meaningless, it can be reversed at any movement by other means. This desire for democratization of international economic relations

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4. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, Documents of the gatherings of Non-Aligned Countries, 1961-1982, Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi, 1983, p. 96.

has been well argued in UN resolution of May 1, 1974. It called for restructuring international economic relations on the basis of equality, sovereignty, interdependence of common interest and cooperation among all states irrespective of their economic and social system. It hoped, NIEO shall correct inequalities and redress injustices, make it possible to eliminate the widening gap between the developed and the developing countries and ensure steadily accelerating economic and social development and peace and justice for present and future generations.

The Bretton Woods system adopted after the second world war was basically concerned with European recovery programme to rebuild the war devastated economy of Europe under the leaderships of the USA and the UK. It did not address itself to the problems of under-development in the Third World. On the contrary the Bretton Woods System in a way perpetuated the colonial relations between the metropolitan countries and newly independent countries. Its objective was to provide a new economic system for the developed countries which would perpetuate their power position. Therefore, the Third World had to struggle against

colonialism and neo-colonialism in order to achieve its goal for the restructuring of its economic system.

The contemporary economic system is characterised by stagnation in world trade, protectionism in the West, redeployment in industries, adverse balance of payments, crushing debt burden of the third world, steep fall in the price of third world export commodities, lack of adoptive system in the attitude of world financial institutions. All this has underlined the necessity for a NIEO. The major challenges faced by the under-developed countries can be enumerated in short as follows:

(1) The Developed countries resort to tariff protection of their domestic industries. Thus, their advocacy in support of free working of the international market mechanism believes the reality.

(2) The Developed countries benefit disproportionately in the distribution of the value added to the products traded. The third world receives back only a small fraction of final price obtained from international purchase of their product.

(3) There is a substantial imbalance in the distribution of international monetary reserves. Although underdeveloped countries constitute 70 percent of the world's population, they receive less than 4 percent of the international reserves. Since the developed countries control the creation and distribution of these reserves, they have the power to manipulate these international financial assets to their own advantage.

(4) Debt trap in 1960, the third world had an indebtedness to the west of 18,000 million dollars in 20 years, it has grown to 446,000 million dollars in addition to short terms loan of 134,000 million dollars. At the end of 1982, OECD has estimated the total debt of less developed countries as 625 billion dollars and debt servicing as 130 billion dollars.<sup>5</sup>

(5) Economic growth of developing countries requires adaptation and use of scientific knowledge and information. 95 percent of modern technology was originally patented in industrialised countries and it is owned and controlled, very often by the multinational corporations. So the third world does not have free access to modern technology. They

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5. UN Document A/38/132, p. 64.

can buy only the products of technology and not the technology itself. Whatever outdated technology they acquire, they have to pay for this an unduly heavy price both in economic and political terms either to country concerned or to a multinational corporation. Moreover transfer of technology should be such as could be absorbed and adapted to socio-economic conditions, promoting self-development. The guiding factor for the multinationals is immediate and of maximum profits, hence isolated sections of the host economies become aligned to international markets and developed countries, while the large parts remain backward and linked to traditional mode of production.

The existing economic order is based on outdated thinking of the colonial period, specifically the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries when the classical economists looked at the world from the point of view of the isolated areas and advocated perfect competition, free enterprise and free trade. That institution does not exist today. Where a few minor adjustments have been made in the developed countries, that too suits their interests. But nothing has been done so far to change the relationship between the developed and the developing countries. The EEC is an organisation in western Europe and takes care only of the interests of those countries.

The recognition of Japan as a major economic power and the formation of the EEC led to some adjustments on what is described as a trilateral basis. But the developing countries have been systematically left out <sup>of</sup> these adjustments. Consequently, the prosperity in the developed countries has been gradually increasing whereas the condition of the developing countries is becoming more and more miserable. Instead of international order of prosperity an order of poverty has been evolved and the third world is demanding the replacement of the old order by a new one which will be egalitarian, just and democratic, based on equality in every sphere, economic, political and racial. The demand for substantive and structural change in the international system aims at economic emancipation and democratization of international economic relations. The urge for NIEO is not based on the call for an income redistribution from the rich to the poor, but one fair terms of trade, aid and reformation of monetary system.

i) Economic Underdevelopment and Policy of Non-Alignment:

Discussing some economic aspects of the policy of non-alignment, it is better to use the word "underdeveloped" than "developing" despite the official UN terminology. But, it seems that as long as we keep now existing definitions of "development" and "high level of development," the group of



countries we are speaking about the "developing" could be called under-developed due to the fact that it is very hard to find any corner of the world where there is no development at all. In other words, even the most developed countries are still developing.

During the last twenty years and still today one finds the dilemma usually formulated in the following manner. Is the policy of non-alignment just "reserved" for the poor, under-developed, developing, or less developed countries? or, are the non-aligned countries non-aligned because they are under-developed?<sup>6</sup>

This type of reasoning could be found among those who support the policy of non-alignment, as well as among those who take a different position. As a matter of fact there seems to be sound logic in the opinion that there exists a deep relationship between economic underdevelopment and the policy of non-alignment. By the very fact, that particularly

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6. Hudson, M., Global Fracture: The New International Economic Order, Harper and Row, New York, 1977, p. 81.

non-aligned countries are underdeveloped, it was unavoidable until now and it will be even more in the years to come to separate economic problems from the developing countries. The basic motivation which stimulated formation of non-alignment policy was a political one. However, the fact that members of the movement of the non-aligned nations are poor, stamped its impact upon the general platform of non-alignment and relatively soon, in the very early sixties crystallised the economic stand of the movement. (Economic Conference of the Non-Aligned countries held in Cairo, 1962, following the first Conference of Non-Aligned countries which took place in Belgrade, 1961).

Since that time, on economic aspects of the policy of the non-alignment are becoming more present in further elaboration of the non-alignment general platform. It was logical that countries at the very beginning of political emancipation became aware of the necessity to create a solid base for their political stability and independence by solving some of the basic economic problems. The policy of non-alignment may not be

"reserved for the poor only". However, as long as the supporter of such a policy are underdeveloped countries, the policy of non-alignment has to have an economic programme too. At this point it is not of the main importance to qualify various economic actions of the non-aligned countries.<sup>7</sup> The very fact that particularly economic aspects of the activities of the non-aligned became extremely attractive even for those countries which are not non-aligned, but are underdeveloped, suggests that in the past it was community of economic interests which helped to create high level of cooperation among non-aligned and many aligned but non-developed countries. There are various indications that cooperation between the two groups has to be even stronger in the years to come in order to get better results both in the field of the further promotion of the policy of non-alignment and in improving the position of the underdeveloped countries. This is why in order to be more active and more successful in demands for the new type of relationships within the international community, non-aligned countries have to be in the future more detailed and even better elaborated programme

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7. Ibid., p. 82.

of economic activities which would in the area of economic cooperation bring underdeveloped countries together.

Despite the fact that there are already positive results as far as the creation of the common platform between the non-aligned and underdeveloped in many issues dealing with the international economic cooperation and the development of the new international economic order, from time to time several dilemmas are arising:

(1) Should the non-aligned countries insist mainly to develop various forms of economic cooperation among themselves preferably? This is to be expected due to the fact that common political platform has more stimulative effect upon any type of possible cooperation, including the economic one.

(2) Should the non-aligned together with all other underdeveloped countries try to create such a type of mutual economic cooperation which would be marked by the self-reliance, or should they insist to create within the NIEO, the possibility to collaborate with all the other countries, particularly the developed ones?

(3) Should the non-aligned and the underdeveloped countries enter various forms of international economic relationships on regional or universal basis? This problem has at least two versions, namely; regional cooperation could be developed among the non-aligned and underdeveloped themselves, or non-aligned and underdeveloped could cooperate on a global basis. In second version it would mean to stimulate participation of various non-aligned and underdeveloped countries in various schemes of the international economic integration process.<sup>8</sup>

iii) Demand for New International Economic Order:

In order to have a just economic order based on equality and democratic international order, the third world made some demands.

In matters of international trade most of the developing countries are tied to western nations. It is not only their share in the world trade which is decreasing but their problem of trade also are getting more complicated, even in primary commodities, their share was fallen to

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8. Ibid., p. 83.

20 percent. The developing countries want that their export earnings should be protracted. On account of violent fluctuations in the prices of their exports, they are receiving only a small percentage of the price paid by the consumers for the goods exported by them e.g. only \$ 30 billion out of \$ 200 billion in 1977. Development depends on trade. But the policy of protectionism has dampened the growth of trade. The South wants the North to lower its tariff barriers.

The demand for common fund was made to maintain the price levels of primary commodities of the third world. The west had refused to make the reasonable contributions to this fund. As a result, although, the Fund has been set up it would take time before it becomes operative. Energy is the crucial problem for the south. The west, particularly the USA has done very little to reduce its energy consumption. The South wants an energy affiliate of the IBRD in order to develop alternate energies in the South. Refinancing or cancellation of Debts, Transfer of appropriate technology. The developed countries should double their financial and contributions on mandatory basis.

NIEO, advocated that the national currencies such as US dollar and British pound should be phased out. They should be replaced by SDRs, issued by the IMF. The basis of the SDRs, should not be the maintenance of international monetary stability as it is operative now, but to promote the development of the third world.

The third world would like that their export earnings should be protected from the declining value. This protection is possible through a system of "indexing" i.e., a relationship between the exports of developing countries be fixed in relation to the prices fetched by the manufactured goods exported by the advanced countries.

The process of decolonisation and attainment, of independence by the Afro-Asian countries created an awareness for self-reliance. Political independence had to be accompanied by economic independence. Freedom from colonial yoke was considered superfluous unless and until poverty was eradicated. This aspiration for self-reliance and economic development was one of the strong motivating factors in accepting non-alignment as a principle of

foreign policy. Jawaharlal Nehru was one of the strong motivating factors in accepting non-alignment as a principle of foreign policy. Jawaharlal Nehru was probably the first to realise it. His call was for a world in which there was free cooperation of free peoples and no class or group exploiting one another. In 1964, Nehru, inaugurated the Third Session of ECAFF meet at Ofacamund on June 1, 1964, analysing the need for interdependence observed:

"If some countries which are more fortunate than others, think that they can lead their lives in isolation irrespective of what happens in the rest of the world. It is obvious that they are under main apprehension. Today, if one part of the world goes down economically, it has a tendency to drag others with it. It is not a question of the prosperous merely out of the generosity of their hearts, helping those who are not prosperous though generosity is a good thing. But it is a question of enlightened self-interest, realising that if some partsof the world do not progress, remain backward, they have an adverse effect on the whole



economy of the world and they tend to drag down those parts that are at present prosperous".<sup>9</sup>

Thus, Nehru tried to initiate a process of change in international relations with an objective to launch a process of development throughout the underdeveloped world. Nehru imparted this awareness to other countries which came to be known as a demand for the reordering of international economic relations.

In the fifties, the third world countries made efforts to get the United Nations endorse the principle of State sovereignty over natural resources. At the Bandung Conference of Afro-Asian countries held in 1955, economic issues were raised. The participating states called for stabilising "the international prices of and demand for primary commodity". They also asked for a diversification of their export trade, and for the establishment of national and regional banks and insurance companies in Asia and Afroca. Brioni Summit attended by Nehru of India, Nasser of Egypt and Tito of

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9. Agarwal, S., Third World and New International Economic Order, Jaipur, 1985, p. 64.

Yugoslavia in 1956, was the first major step towards giving form and content to the non-alignment. Economic issues relating to the problems of development were raised. In the fifties, political issues were given priority because the problem of survival in cold war world politics was the guiding motive force.

In the 1960s the problem of NIEO was articulated in an organised way. It was clearly envisaged that the problems of development were linked with international economic and political system, which provided an impetus to the third world to organise itself and strive hard for change. The process of decolonisation made further progress as was evident in the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, adopted by the United General Assembly in December 1960. The Declaration made it clear that economic emancipation was an essential ingredient of political decolonization and that political independence economic development were inseparable from each other. It was clear that the struggle for economic emancipation had begun. Secondly the launching of the first UN Development Decade, although it was a failure, highlighted the importance of third world development.

The first move was the use of Articles 54 and 55 of the UN Charter which provided a convenient base for the creation of a super structure for economic cooperation. The third world countries played an important role in persuading the member countries to designate the 60s as the First Development Decade.

The first Summit of the non-aligned nations was held in Belgrade in September 1961. It gave a call for efforts to remove "economic unbalances inherited from colonialism and imperialism". It was realised that such efforts were "necessary to close through accelerated economic, industrial and agricultural development, the ever-widening gap in the standards of living between the few economically advanced countries and the many economically less developed countries". It was decided that an international Conference should be convened to discuss and agree upon the most effective measures to remove the hinderances in their way to economic and social development. Such a Conference had also enunciated the principle of sovereignty over natural resources.

The Cairo Conference (1962) decided to enlist the cooperation of ever those countries of the Third World

which were members of the military blocs in the struggle for economic emancipation because economic problems were similar and no contradiction was envisaged between non-aligned countries and other developing countries. The Cairo Conference also emphasised the developmental demands of third world and denounced the attempts made by the developed countries to perpetuate the past structure of international economic relations. It was also urged that these attempts were a hinderence in the economic development of the developing countries. This Conference enabled the third world to launch on collective efforts in this direction. It resulted in the establishment of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD). The UNCTAD and the "group of 77" have become the forum and instrument in the struggle for NIEO.

The first meeting of the UNCTAD was held in Geneva from 23rd March to 16th June 1964. It spelt out the responsibility of the international community in the areas such as stabilization of the prices of commodity preferences volume and terms of aid. There was no agreement on preferences.<sup>1</sup>

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10. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, Documents of gathering of Non-Aligned Countries, 1961-1982, Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi, 1983, p.98.

The second non-aligned summit was held in Cairo in October 1964. It declared that the Colonialist attempt to maintain unequal relationships in economic sphere was a threat to the newly independent countries. Unlike Belgrade which made only a reference to economic problems, Cairo Conference devoted one full section, Section X to economic development. It asked "all the countries to contribute to the rapid evolution of a new and just economic order under which all nations can live without fear or want or despair and rise to their full stature in the Family of Nations, the structure of the world economy and the existing international trade and development have failed either to reduce the disparity or to rectify serious and growing imbalances between developed and developing countries."

This part of the declaration can be compared with the fundamental principles of the UN resolution of 1 May, 1974, on NIEO. The non-aligned movement has always worked as a guiding force to achieve NIEO. The Cairo Conference of 1964 and its impact on the UNCTAD, there was widespread disenchantment with the results of the first United Nations Development Decade. The UNCTAD met in New Delhi in 1968 against this background. The issue of preferences became the key issue

of UNCTAD. Non-discriminating and non-reciprocal preferences by the developed countries were not conceded in favour of the developing countries. However, they were conceded after the conference ended. The second item on the agenda was the development finance. It was agreed that developed countries would give one percent of GNP as aid to the developing countries. But except for a very few, many refused to fix the date when the decision would be implemented. The third major item on the agenda was the issue of the trade expansion and economic cooperation among themselves to the best of their ability.

It has to be taken note of that the developing countries had crystalised their position in the charter of Algiers which was adopted by the "Group of 77" on 24 October, 1967 at Algiers. They pressed UNCTAD II to launch a modest programme for implementation and action on the decision taken. A time table for negotiation and implementation was also accepted only in respect of the practical application of the principle of the expansion of the trade of the developing countries in manufactured and semi-manufactured goods.

The first development decade turned out to be of great disillusionment and the effort to intensify international cooperation could not make any significant impact on the socio-economic scene. Against this background the strategy for second Development Decade was discussed and adopted. In the United Nations the third world tried to focus attention on the need for social progress and economic advancement to keep pace with the political change. The crisis in development cooperation was considered to be the result of the development process being misconceived as a partnership between the donors and the recipients".<sup>11</sup>

For the first time, it was advocated that there was complementarity between requirements and resources of the both, the developing countries and the developed countries. Also, in this context a global frame for the interaction of economic factors and social forces and the evolution of a symbolic relationship between poor economies and consumers societies was urged. These aspects of the issue had some impact on the course of the negotiations to evolve an international development strategy for the

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11. Ibid., pp. 99.

seventies in which it was envisaged that the average growth rate of the developing countries would be 6 percent and per capita income was expected to expand at the rate of 3.5 percent per year. In this strategy some socio-economic objectives were spelled out and time-bound programmes were planned. In a way an integrated approach was evolved.

By the end of the decade it was realised that inspite of the efforts on the part of the international community, the situation was deteriorating. The official Development Assistance remained far below the stipulated target of one percent of the gross national product - GNP of the developed countries. The developing countries were facing economically adverse trends. In 1950, they were having surplus trade where as in 1962 there was a deficit of \$2,300 millions. The developing countries used to export one-third of the total export in 1950 which declined to slightly more than one fifth in 1962. The Charter of Algiers prepared by the "group of 77" in October 1967 was revealing in the sense that the share of the developing countries in total world trade declined further on account of slow rate of growth. Between 1953-54 and 1965-66 the export of manufactured



goods of the developing countries increased only by \$3 billion whereas the increase of some goods of the socialist countries came to \$10 billion and for the western countries the increase was \$65 billions. In 1969, the developing countries share in world trade further decreased and went down to one sixth. Of the world trade.

In a meeting of the Non-Aligned Representatives, held in Belgrade in 1969, it was pointed out that the dependence of the third world is increasing on account of the deteriorating terms of trade and economic relations with the developed countries.

The 1970s, aggravated the problem on account of the failures and disappointments of the 1960s. A new factor entered the international economic order and a new assertiveness began. Even in the world Bank Development Report (1981), it was reported, in a certain sense, the 1970s may be remembered for giving a new shape of the world economy. This is not the product of the search through negotiations for greater equality of economic opportunity among nations which the developing countries have pursued and little

progress has been made along that route, rather, what has evolved is a different pattern of economic power, with new centres of production finance and trade and new forms of interdependence.

The Lusaka Conference of the non-aligned nations held in 1970 emphasised economic problems of the third world. For the first time non-aligned movement adopted a separate, full-length declaration on Non-alignment and Economic progress in which some guidelines were laid down regarding the policies and programmes of action. In this Summit, it was emphasised that an approach to cultivate the spirit of the self-reliance through collective bargaining had to be evolved. This approach was based upon the right of permanent sovereignty over natural resources, independent economic activities, formation of producers' association and the proclamation in the UN of the New International Economic Order.

The UNCTAD III was held at Santiago in 1972. It has to be noted that UNCTAD was the biggest and the longest meet where the developed countries were caught unawares

by the remarkable and unprecedented unity of the "group of 77". The unanimous resolutions passed by the conference were on account of the "sheer moral shock power" as described Marry Johnson.<sup>12</sup>

By the time, the UNCTAD II was held in 1968, decision and contradictory views characterised the "group of 77". The developed countries exploited the situation in order to get over the demands of the group by giving limited or no concessions. By the time UNCTAD III was held, there were divisions in the "Group of 77" as well as in the developed countries. Consequently the results of UNCTAD III were, disappointing for the third world. Negotiations on primary commodities in any forum outside GATT were opposed. On aid some European countries agreed to give 0.7 percent as official Development Assistance and fulfil the commitment by 1975. Other countries e.g. USA etc. did not make any such commitment. The only achievement of Santiago was the decision on the reform of the international monetary system, which would be undertaken by twenty countries instead of ten. And this decision was also the result of the monetary position of the United States.

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12. Jaisingh, H., India and the Non-Aligned World Search for a New Order, Vikas Publishing House, New Delhi, 1983, p. 41.

In the mid 1971, the US liabilities increased to level four times large than its gold reserves. There was a massive dollar surplus which could not be just absorbed Euro-dollar market. In June, 1972, sterling came under speculative pressure and the UK decided to follow sterling to folat. By March 1973, all major currencies followed consequently and Bratton woods system collapsed. The non-aligned Summit in Algiers (1973) kept up the tempo created in Lusaka and elaborated the strategies. The Algiers Summit concluded that international economic order needs close attention from structural point of view, therefore, the proposal on development cooperations should be integrated into programme of structural changes and called for a special session of the UN General Assembly to discuss development issues. For the first time, reference was made to a new type of international economic relations and to establishment of NIEO.

The liberal attitude during 1974 special session of the General Assembly was the result of the oil crisis of 1973. The price of oil in real terms declined in 1972. The oil exporting countries were helpless because of exploration, production, transportation and marketing was outside their control. In 1959, the oil companies forced them to

reduce the prices which induced them to establish OPEC in 1960. Upto 1970, their basic demand was an equitable price for oil which remained unfulfilled. On 6 October, 1973, war broke out in the Middle East. On 16 October 1973, the Gulf States increased the posted price of bench-mark crude oil from \$3.01 to \$ 5.12 per barrel. One day later, it was decided that oil supplies will be stopped to unfriendly countries. In December 1973, again OPEC increased the posted price of bench mark crude yield\* \$ 11.65 per barrel. Within less than one year OPEC succeeded in increasing the price of the crude oil four-fold from their 1972 level. This was first step demonstrating the solidarity of the Third World which impressed upon the developed countries were as important for them as they were for the Third world.

Except for the OPEC, other third world countries were hit hard by the increase in oil price on two accounts, first, by increase in prices of imported energy and second, by the accelerated inflation in the cost of such development inputs as food, fertiliser and manufactured items from developed countries.

This could have divided the "group of 77." But serious efforts on the part of the Third World averted it. A consensus was reached on the formula that most seriously affected countries be identified and a special programme should be launched to organise emergency relief and establish a Special Fund to provide additional development assistance to them. This step enabled the developing countries to join in the common endeavour to secure unanimous approval of the Declaration and "Programme of Action" of the NIEO.<sup>13</sup>

iv) Economic Cooperation Among Developing Countries:

Economic cooperation among the developing countries had become a major instrument in elaborating the basic principles of their "collective economic diplomacy" and a means of enhancing their positions at the negotiations on a new international economic order. At the same time, economic cooperation among the developing countries is an important and effective means of consolidating their unity. The Non-Aligned countries had developed a long term strategy of economic cooperation among developing nations and a programme

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13. Ibid., p. 44.

of concrete measures in this field. The strategy is based on the concept of "Collective Self-reliance" which took shape as an independent idea back in the 1970s and became one of the fundamental elements of the programme of new international economic order.

Underlying this concept is the rejection by the developing countries of the dependent nature of foreign economic relations within the frame work of the world capitalist economic system. At the same time, however, the New Delhi Economic Declaration emphasis that "Collective Self-reliance" is not substitute for cooperation between developed and developing countries, nor does it in any way relieve the developed countries of their responsibilities and commitments in support of the development efforts of developing countries on the basis of equity and mutual interest".<sup>14</sup>

Developing countries have expanded cooperation among themselves at the bilateral, sub-regional, regional and inter-regional levels, in the field of mutual resources,

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14. Non-Aligned Summit, 7th Selected Documents, Indian Institute for Non-Aligned Studies, New Delhi, 1983, p. 14.

and have established instruments of cooperation in the areas of Industry, Science and technology, trade transport, shipping credit relations, monetary issues and financial assistance.

a. Trade: In the first half of the 1970s, trade among developing countries grew at the rate of 8.8 percent annum as compared to 4.5 percent for exports to developed countries. This was a reversal of the trends in the 1960s, and such trade now accounts for 22 percent of their total exports. Manufactured exports, particularly in the transport and machinery branches, have been the fastest growing components of trade among developing countries. There was evidence to suggest that in the latter part of the 1970s, trade among developing countries has continued to increase even faster than their trade with the developed countries. Changes have also taken place in the composition of this trade, with oil now accounting for 55 percent, followed by manufactures (25 percent) and basic commodities (20 percent).

Expansion of trade among developing countries had long been an important objective of economic cooperation among them. Since the 1960s, a large number of regional



and sub-regional market integration schemes such as the Latin American Free Trade Association, the Central American Common market, the Andean Group, the Caribbean Free Trade Association, the East African Community, the Central American Customs and Economic Union, the Economic Community of West African States, the Association of South-East Asian Nations and the Arab Common Market had been formed among the developing countries. Market integration was perceived as a major instrument for trade expansion and for accelerating economic development through specialisation in production. It was also perceived as a means of enhancing bargaining power in external economic relations.

There had been some serious difficulties in the operation of some of integration schemes, and at least one of them, the East African Community had de facto broken down. In other cases such as ASEAN and the Andean Group, trade within some integration schemes had expanded more rapidly than trade with the rest of the world. These diverse experiences are variously explained. An important consideration, however, is that at low levels of development, the benefits of classical integration, that is, integration based on trade liberalisation are limited,

partly because only small-share of the partners trade enters into intra-group trade. For the more developed countries, the use of trade liberalization in the integration process become more meaningful, particularly when accompanied by such measures as industrial investment programming to strengthen the necessary production base. Such initiatives not only increased the total benefits to be derived from integration but also contributed to a more equitable distribution of such benefits, thereby, reducing the potential for political tension.<sup>15</sup>

b. Financial and Monetary Cooperation:

In the past decade developing countries had adopted a variety of financial measures to facilitate and foster their economic cooperation. The measures fall into two broad areas, namely (a) the formation of regional or sub-regional payments arrangements, which take the form of clearing houses, payments unions and reserve centres, and (b) the establishment of multilateral development finance institutions and national development funds for external assistance.

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15. Ghosh, P.K., ed. New International Economic Order, A Third World Perspective, London, Greenwood Press, 1984, p. 211.

There were by 1980, seven clearing arrangements among the developing countries, the Asian Clearing Union, the Caribbean Community Multilateral Clearing Facility, the Central American Clearing House, the Great Lakes Economic Community's Monetary Arrangement, the Latin American Free Trade Association's Payments System, the Regional Cooperation for Development's Union for Multilateral Payments and the West African Clearing House. A total of 47 countries participated in such clearing arrangements on a sub-regional basis, which except for the Asian clearing union, are in turn linked to broader economic integration and trade liberalization arrangements. Negotiations for Central American payments arrangement involving five countries of the area are now under way.

Another nine countries of Eastern and Southern Africa expect to establish a clearing and payments system in the context of preferential trade area which may become effective in 1981.

A new feature of monetary arrangements had been the establishment of regional monetary funds. An Arab monetary Fund was established in 1975 which aimed to coordinate the

monetary systems of members and to contribute towards the realization of economic cooperation between member countries. It commands capital resources of the order of \$1.1 billion, other monetary arrangements include the Andean Reserve Fund, the ASEAN Swap Arrangement, the Latin American Free Trade Association's Financial Assistance Agreement and the Central American Monetary Stabilization Fund. The Finance Ministers and Governors of the Central Banks of Latin American Economic system also agreed at their recent meeting at Lima, Peru (11 April 1980) to attempt to establish a regional monetary system. Although these monetary arrangements pursue different objectives, a common denominator appears to be the intention to supplement the balance-of-payments financing available from the IMF.<sup>16</sup>

Cooperation efforts of developing countries on multilateral basis in the field of development finance date back to the formation of the regional development banks for Latin America, (1959), Africa (1964) and Asia (1966). A number of sub-regional development banks had

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16. Ibid., p.213.

also emerged e.g. the East African Development Bank,, the Caribbean Development Bank, the Andean Development Corporation, etc. In more recent years, however, financial cooperation between capital surplus developing countries, essentially members of OPEC, and capital-deficit developing countries had increased significantly. A large number of development funds had been either established or financially augmented, both on a national and multilateral basis, including the Islamic Development Bank, the Arab Bank for Economic Development in Africa, etc. Flows of Finance (ODA and non-concessional) from OPEC increased on a net disbursement basis from US \$1.7 billion in 1973 to about \$9.0 billion in 1977, more than half of which was on concessional terms. A large proportion of OPEC assistance took the form of general support assistance, United to specific projects, project aid being frequently co-financed with other countries and agencies. The emergence of institution in which the decisive voice was that of countries whose development perspectives were more relevant to the recipients provided the prospective borrowers with greater flexibility and new opportunities for satisfying their diverse financial needs.

A significant feature of financial cooperation among the developing countries had been the use of the joint venture agreements in agricultural and industrial projects located in the capital importing countries, which served the mutual interests of the parties involved. Development of the Sudan's vast agricultural potential according to a ten year programme, with the assistance of the Arab Authority for Agricultural Investment and Development, ~~was~~ perhaps the most outstanding example of such cooperation.<sup>17</sup> It was designed to help meet the food needs of the Arab region. There ~~was~~ also some movement toward export financing, such as the establishment in 1975 of the Latin American Export Bank with the objective of introducing a Latin American system of export credits for goods and services.

#### C. Technical Cooperation:

Technical cooperation among developing countries offered important and practical possibilities as a catalyst and lubricant for the wider efforts of the developing countries towards collective self-reliance. The Plan of

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17. "Review of International Affairs", Belgrade No.704-705, August 20, 1979, p. 18.

Action adopted by the Buenos Aires Conference in September 1978 described the basic objectives of technical cooperation among developing countries, which were interdependent and mutually supportive, in terms of their contribution to wider goals of the development of the developing countries and international economic cooperation. These objectives include fostering of the self-reliance of developing countries through the enhancement of their creative capacity, the promotion and strengthening of collective self-reliance through exchange of experience pooling, sharing and utilization of technical resources and the development of their complementary capacities, and an increase in the quantity and improvement in the quality of international cooperation together with a strengthening of the effectiveness of the resources devoted to overall technical cooperation through pooling capacities.

The Plan of Action set forth 38 recommendations for further action by developing countries individually or collectively in sub-regional, regional or inter-regional groups by developed countries and by the organisations of the United Nations systems. In a recent progress report on the implimentation of this task, the UNDP Administrator

drew attention to particular uses of technical cooperation among developing countries that are providing substantial benefits to those countries, identified obstacles to the advancement of such cooperation and suggested methods by which it could be rendered more effective. Describing the principal characteristics of technical cooperation among developing countries, the report stated that such cooperation involves a deliberate and voluntary sharing of resources, knowledge, experience, skills and capacities between two or more developing countries for their individual or mutual development, that it is initiated primarily by developing countries themselves, with the support of developed countries or organisations of the United Nations system at the request of governments involved, and that project inputs for activities should be provided entirely or to the largest extent possible, by the participating developing countries themselves.<sup>18</sup>

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18. Ibid., p. 19.



Although the time since the Buenos Aires Conference is comparatively short for great progress to have been expected, it was already cleared that major initiatives would have to be taken to give full effect to the Plan of Action. There are number of factors which had effected, the rate at which programmes and activities in support of technical cooperation among developing countries had been implemented. First was the fact that the present patterns in investment, production and marketing, because of their orientation towards the developed countries had impeded the attainment of greater cooperation. Technical cooperation was not sought but was pursued in the context of the implementation of concrete projects. As a result, countries giving priority to the modern sector and requiring in their view the most up-to-date technology were apt to seek technical cooperation from the suppliers of related equipment and expertise namely the industrialized countries. On the other hand, those developing countries that sought alternative patterns of development and life styles, based on self-reliance, could be expected to take more interest in technical cooperation among developing countries. Second,

there was a close interrelationship between financial transfers and absorption of technology. In this respect it was important for developing countries to endeavour to separate finance and technology and to unpack the technology components in conformity with their respective circumstances, for which purposes technical cooperation could be utilized. Further progress needed to be made in untying transfers of official development assistance in order to permit such resources to be utilized for the purpose of technical cooperation among developing countries. Thirdly, attitudinal barriers derived largely from the economics, social and cultural legacies of history were prevalent both at the level of countries and in international organizations, and these barriers would have to be removed if technical cooperation among developing countries was to become much more of a practical reality.

There were number of obstacles that continued to impede faster development of cooperative activities among developing countries. The economic dependence of these countries on the developed market economy countries had discouraged

the accumulation of experience and information on the potential of markets in the developing countries and on the procedures of trade and financing. One structural factor that inhibited expansion of trade was the insufficient capacity of the production structures of developing countries, inadequate finance, lack of storage facilities, and poor transport facilities. These factors prevented producer developing countries from building up commercial stocks that would allow commodities to be supplied readily, without delay, when consumer developing countries required them, where crops were seasonal or fluctuated with the weather, limited storage facilities resulted in marked variations in supply and price. Poor transport facilities hindered trade among developing countries even when one country had the products demanded by the other. Intra-regional trade in Africa, for instance, suffered much from the lack of overland transport. Lack of regular shipping facilities, telecommunications and direct air transport also served to inhibit trade among developing countries.

These structural weaknesses could be overcome only by organisational and institutional innovations that would augment the production and bargaining capacity of the

developing countries, singly and collectively over a period of time. In order for the developing countries effectively to realise the potential for collective self-reliance it is necessary, in addition to mobilizing the political will to undertake the necessary deliberate efforts, that they establish an adequate and efficient institutional and organisational framework which would both enhance their cooperation and increase their capacity for serious negotiations with the industrialized countries. The foregoing assessment of past efforts in cooperation had provided a partial listing of the possible range and forms of economic cooperation among the developing countries. But there was a need to spell out a broader framework of principles capable of giving momentum to and establishing a mutually reinforcing relationship between these efforts of cooperation among countries, at the sub-regional, regional and inter-regional levels, and weave them into a coherent system of cooperation applicable to the developing countries as a whole. That might include the search for ways and means of providing support to the least developing countries and those countries at a lower stage of developing relative to those at a more advanced stage.

Collective self-reliance should be conceived as a purposeful form of cooperation among the developing countries based on deliberate and planned actions and focusing on the sphere of production. It did not emerge spontaneously from the interplay of market forces, it needed therefore, to be consciously pursued as a collaborative endeavour undertaken in order to accelerate through mutually reinforcing efforts, the overall development of participant countries singly and collectively. Ideally it should reach beyond economic growth and encompass the political, social and cultural spheres.

#### NAM and NIEO:

The non-aligned Summits, held in Colombo (Sri Lanka) 1976, Havana (Cuba) 1979, Delhi (India) 1983, Harare (Zimbabwe) 1986 had strongly emphasised on economic problem of non-aligned countries and also demanded for New International Economic Order.

#### (a) NIEO:

The Heads of State and Government of non-aligned countries participating in fifth Summit, NAM Conference were firmly of the view that nothing short of complete restructuring

of the existing international economic relations would provide an enduring solution to the world economic problems, particularly those of the developing countries. The inadequacy and recurring failure of the prevailing economic order had been demonstrated in the recent series of crisis in the developed market economy countries including inter-alia the collapse of the postwar monetary system, emergence of restrictive and protectionist policies in world market trade, spirally inflation, recession, mounting unemployment and steadily deteriorating levels of real income from exports of primary production of developing countries and the food crisis. The participants of NAM countries viewed the adoption of the Declaration and the Programme of Action on the establishment of the NIEO at the 6th special session of the General Assembly of UN as signifying the growing determination of the international community to bring about a fundamental change in the system of the NIEO called for bold initiative demanded a new, concrete and global solution and was contrary to piecemeal reforms and improvization intended to resolve the present economic difficulties. The fundamental objective of NIEO was to bring about in the international economic relations and equilibrium based on

justice through cooperation and human dignity. The non-aligned countries once again denounced the unacceptable policies and practices of transnational cooperations were motivated by exploitative profits, exhausted the resources, distorted the economies and infringed the sovereignty of developing countries, violated the principles of non-interference in the affairs of states.<sup>19</sup>

The NAM countries once more reaffirmed the inalienable right of all countries to exercise full permanent sovereignty over their natural and human resources and their economic activities including possession, use and disposal of such resources and their right to nationalization. The participants also reaffirmed their view that nothing short of a complete restructuring of existing international economic relations will provide an enduring solution to world economic problems.

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19. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, Documents of gatherings of Non-aligned countries 1961-82, Ministry of External Affairs, New Delhi, 1983, p. 210.

(b) Economic Declaration:

The Heads of State or government of non-aligned countries consider that economic problems have emerged as the most acute problem in international relations today. The crisis of the world economic system continues to assume over-growing proportion. Developing Countries are the victims of this world wide crisis which severely effects the political and economic relations. The widening gap between the developed and developing countries is one of the most threatening sources of tension and conflicts. It is increasingly evident that the existing system cannot ensure the promotion of the development of the developing countries and hasten the eradication of poverty, hunger, sickness, illitracy and also the social courage endangered by the countries of domination and exploitation. Thus, the establishment of the NIEO is of the almost political importance. The struggle for the economic and political independence for the full sovereignty over natural resources and domestic activities and for the greater participation of developing countries in the production and distribution of goods and the rendering, of the



services and basic changes in the international division of labour assumes the highest priority.

In the Sixth Non-Aligned Conference held in 1979 the Heads of State or Government reviewed the evolution of the world economic situation and noted with grave concern that, since the Fifth Summit Conference, the economic problems facing the developing countries had become more acute, characterized by the continuing widening of the gap that separates the developed from the developing countries and by the stalemate in negotiations to restructure international economic relations.

They recognised that the crisis of the international economic system was a symptom of underlying structural maladjustments and basic imbalance aggravated by the un-willingness of developed market economy countries to control their external imbalances high levels of inflation and unemployment thus resulting in the creation of new imbalances within the international economic system

and in the transfer of their adverse effects to developing countries through international trade and monetary financial relations. They stressed that this crisis also resulted from the persisting inequity in international economic relations characterized by dependence, exploitation and inequality.<sup>20</sup>

The conference reiterated the historic mission, that the movement of non-aligned countries should carry out in the struggle to attain the economic and political independence of all developing nations and peoples to exercise their full and permanent sovereignty and control over their natural and all other resources and economic activities and to promote a fundamental restructuring of the world economy through the establishment of the New International Economic Order.

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20. Final Declaration (VI) Non-Aligned Conference, Havana-Cuba, 1979, p. 90.

The Heads of State and Government were convinced that international economic relations are still characterized by the fundamental contradiction between the upholders of the status quo based on domination, dependence and exploitation and the common struggle of the non-aligned and other developing countries for their liberation and economic development. The Heads of State or Government noted with grave concern that the existing international economic system was not only inequitable but was functioning inefficiently, it was not supportive of the process of development in the developing countries. They emphasized that the establishment of the NIEO implied as basic restructuring of the world economic and in the light of past experience rejected the view that this restructuring could be achieved merely through the free play of market forces.

The conference emphasized the close inter-relationship between problems and issues in the areas of trade, development, money and finance and stressed the need to step up, within the framework of UNCTAD, a

global consultative mechanism which would ensure that policies of the developed countries in these areas were mutually consistent and supportive of the development process in developing countries and also that their short-term policies promoted and did not obstruct the restructuring of the international economic conducive to the establishment of the New International Economic Order. The Conference urged the developed countries to reconsider their attitude on these matters which have been submitted to the forthcoming session of the trade and Development Board and thus facilitate international agreement on these crucial issues.

The Conference underscored that the establishment of the NIEO was one of the most important and most urgent tasks facing the NAM, that the democratization of international economic relations constitutes its political substance, and that all countries irrespective of their size, socio-economic system and level of economic development should participate in its establishment. The conference stressed that the negotiations for the

establishment of NIEO must take place within the United Nations System, and in this context it reaffirmed the Central role of the General Assembly.<sup>21</sup>

(b) Negotiations For the Establishment of the New International Economic Order:

The Heads of State or Government , reaffirmed their deep conviction that a lasting solution of the problems of the developing countries could only be achieved by a consistent and fundamental restructuring of international economic relations through the establishment of the NIEO. However, five years after the adoption of resolutions 3201 (S-VI) and 3203 (S-VI) of the United Nations General Assembly and of the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States, the economic situation faced by the developing countries continued its pervasive deterioration, aggravated and accelerated by the effects of the world economic crisis.

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21. Ibid., p. 86.

The participants stressed the necessity for taking urgent measures for achieving progress towards establishing the NIEO. They considered that, in order to achieve these measures, that developed countries should demonstrate a real commitment to the achievement of accepted international goals and that the developing countries should demonstrate their capacity to reinforce their collective bargaining power. The participants reaffirmed their firm resolve to resist most resolutely all attempts to divide and break the unity of the non-aligned and other developing countries and endeavoured to seek solutions to world economic problems outside the UN framework. They denounced all attempts to oppose the just demands of non-aligned and other developing countries for restructuring the existing international economic system. All these attempts were aimed at postponing equitable solutions by granting marginal concessions while essentially preserving their privileges.

The Heads of State and Government reaffirmed that action for the establishment of the NIEO was included in the framework of the general struggle of the peoples for their political, economic, cultural and social liberation against imperialism, colonialism,

neo-colonialism, racism including zionism, apartheid and all forms of foreign domination and oppression.

The conference recognised therefore, that it was urgent for the non-aligned countries to unite more closely and to fight with determination, to establish the NIEO based on equality, interdependence, common interest and cooperation among all states. The Conference emphasized the need to preserve and promote the integrity of the concept, objectives and priorities of the NIEO. They stressed that the exercise of full and effective permanent sovereignty and control over natural and all other resources and economic activities remunerative prices for commodities and raw materials as a way to eliminate unequal exchange, the exercise of control over foreign capital and over the actions of the transnational corporations and the right to consider equal parties to any international economic process were all essential principles which should be accepted by the developed countries and whose attainment to decide to the developing world.

(d) Assessment of the World Economic Situation:

The Heads of State or Government reiterated their deep concern over the present international economic situation, which was mainly characterised by the escalation of the world economic crisis. They noted with grave concern that the international economy in 1978 did not provide substantial impulses to growth in the developing countries.

They agreed that the crisis in the international economic system was not merely a phenomenon of a cyclical nature but a symptom of underlying structural maladjustment characterized inter alia by increasing imbalances and inequities that operate inexorably to the detriment of the developing countries.

The Conference noted that the failure of some developed countries to take the measures necessary to achieve structural changes in the international economy has had repercussions on the economies of the developing countries. The inability of developed market economy countries to control their chronic balance of payments



imbalances, high-level inflation and unemployment had been used as a pretext for postponing the adoption of measures in favour of the developing countries.

The participants noted with concern that the gap between the developed and developing countries had substantially increased, since the relative share of the latter in world output had considerably decreased during the last two decades, with a corresponding adverse effect on the serious problems suffered by them as a consequence of under-development, such as inter alia, malnutrition, illiteracy and poor sanitation.

(e) Monetary and Financial Issues:

The participating countries also examined the international monetary situation and noted with concern that the present international monetary system was not responsive to the development needs of the non-aligned and other developing countries and had resulted in many cases in the increase of their dependence continuous deterioration and the weakness of their economies. They

also pointed out that in the present monetary crisis, the disorderly creation of international liquidity, mainly through United States dollars and other reserve currencies was not supportive of orderly and rapid economic development of the world did not meet the requirements of a stable international monetary system.

The conference noted that much of the disequilibrium in the developing countries, balance of payments was due to factors external to the developing countries, arising from fundamental maladjustments and inequities prevailing in the present world economic structures. However, owing to the structure of the international monetary system, the burden of adjustment had fallen disproportionately on the developing countries with grave repercussion on their development programmes. The Heads of the State and Government reiterated their concern that the existing financial mechanisms and institutions had not satisfactorily responded to the objectives and interests of the developing countries. They expressed their conviction that a new rational, equitable and universal international monetary

system would require, in its elaboration and in the negotiation stages.<sup>22</sup>

The Heads of state or government urged the Secretary General of UNCTAD to establish, at an early date, a high level inter-governmental group of experts to examine fundamental issues in the area of international monetary reforms, as required in implementation of resolution 128(v) of the Fifth UNCTAD held in Manila in May 1979.

vi) New International Economic Order;

The participants of Seventh non-aligned conference held in New Delhi, 1983, would be remembered for evolving a strategy of collective self-reliance for the developing nations. It was a measure of the importance attached by the Seventh Summit Conference to economic issues that the economic part of the declaration occupied some seventy-five pages, compared to the fifty-two of the political

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22. Final Declaration (vi) Non-Aligned Conference,  
Havana - Cuba, 1979, p. 106.

part. The economic declaration was also the most comprehensive adopted by any NAM Conference so far. The main reason for this was the gravity of the world economic crisis emphasised in the 'New Delhi Message' of the conference. The Summit Conference took a really global view of the situation. Inevitably, however, the developing states were suffering for more than developed from the present situation. As the Declaration pointed out, for the first time since the Second World War, there had been a decline in the per capita GDP of many developing countries. In their view, this was primarily a symptom of structural and mal-adjustment, in the present unjust world economic system. Therefore, the non-aligned states declared themselves to be committed in promoting the establishment of NIEO.<sup>23</sup>

The discussion on the draft of economic declaration generated hardly any heat and led to little change in the main features of the draft prepared by the host country. There was general support for the Algerian plea for a

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23. Commemoration, vol. I, Seventh Non-Aligned Summit, Indian Institute for Non-Aligned Studies, New Delhi, 1983, p. 45.

more pragmatic and realistic approach to global negotiations so as to end the stalemate in the North-South dialogue supporting this stand the Pakistan Economists and Deputy Chairman of Planning Commission (Dr. Mehbubul Haq) observed that this was the only way to get the negotiations going. There was an Indian suggestion for a time frame within which the global negotiations should be started (1984 was indicated).<sup>24</sup> But there was no consensus on it. There was unanimity on both the need for restructuring the international monetary institutions and for launching global negotiations for resolving the grave economic situation.

There were some suggestions for the repudiation of debts by developing countries, but the consensus of the seventh Summit was only in favour of Pakistan proposal for strengthening the debt reorganisation facility under the aegis of the IMF. The proposal for the development bank of the third world did not evoke much enthusiasm especially among the OPEC states, and the Summit had to agree only to study such a proposal. However, many delegations were

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24. Ibid., p. 46.

optimistic that United Action by the Non-Aligned and other developing nations, based on the conclusions of the Seventh Summit and of the "group of 77" would make a major impact on the forthcoming (June 1983) UNCTAD -VI at Belgrade.

The final economic declaration listed the pivotal catalytic role played by the non-aligned countries in the field of international economic relations since the NAM was established in 1961 and for promoting international cooperation. As urged in the New Delhi message the participants for defusing the grave economic situation. The participants issued a declaration on collective action for global prosperity and another one on collective self-reliance among Non-Aligned and other countries. On the suggestion of the declarations of Algeria and Sri Lanka, the Conference proposed that the representative group of members explained the approach of the non-aligned countries to the resolution of the economic situation to the governments of developing countries.

The economic draft considered by the non-aligned Summit had two distinct features, the spelling out of

concrete measures to further South-South Cooperation and a global look at North-South problem hanging on the interdependence of the two regions.

The Summit considered the following proposals:

1. The launching of global system of trade preferences among developing countries.
2. The establishment of Non-Aligned Centre for science and technology in India.
3. The establishment of consultative committee on planning, for exchanging views on planning techniques, particularly in key areas like food production and processing of raw materials.
4. The creation of project development mechanism for techno-economic cooperation between developing nations.
5. Regional and inter-regional arrangements among developing nations.
6. The establishment of research and information system.

7. Technical support for economic cooperation between developing nations.<sup>25</sup>

The draft proposed an Action Plan to accelerate the flow of resources to the developing countries, brought about a structural reforms in the International Monetary system, enlarge trade, develop energy resources and create a food security system.

It also proposed an international conference to take a look at the working of IMF and world bank, so that they could respond more positively to the financial needs of developing countries.

Even since the Lusaka Summit (1970) successive conferences of the NAM had urged economic cooperation among the developing states, both for its own sake of promoting collective self-reliance and for increasing their counter vailing power in negotiations with the

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25. Non-Alignment Summit, Final Documents, Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, New Delhi, 1983, p. 25.



developed countries as the seventh Summit Declaration put it. However, and despite the self-praise in this respect the developing countries had a long way to go to fulfil the above objectives and so once again, the Seventh Summit listed a detailed action programme for cooperation among developing countries covering every field of economic activity. The decisions were transmitted to the "group of 77" for appropriate follow-up action. The recent non-aligned summit gave a fresh fill-up to the concept of new international Economic Order. It called for the immediate convening of the international conference on money and finance for development with universal participation for a comprehensive restructuring of the international monetary and financial system.

Among several concrete proposals and recommendations made in this context were the following: Multilateral framework for restructuring the debt burdens of developing countries, establishment of debt services facility by the IMF, raising the quotas of the IMF to 125 Billion SDR's, replenishment of the IMF by gold sales and using it for

subsidised lending to developing countries review of IMF conditionality, compensatory financing facility to cover cereal imports, augmenting the capital resources of the world Bank, setting up of a producer council of developing nations; increasing world Bank lending for energy projects. and augmenting financial flows to developing countries for industrialisation on favourable terms.

vii) World Economic Situation:

The participants of Eighth Non-Aligned Summit held in Harare (1986) assessed the world economic situation and expressed deep concern at the worsening crisis in the in the international economic system. They stressed that the crisis in the international economic system was not merely of a cyclic nature but was a symptom of deep rooted structural maladjustment characterized by increasing imbalances and inequities that operate inexorably to the detriment of developing countries. They also noted that this situation had been further aggravated by the short-sighted and inward looking macro-economic policies pursued by some developed countries which favour neither

the growth of world economy as whole nor structural reforms in the system of international economic relations. These policies had in many cases resulted in the transfer of the burden of adjustment to the more vulnerable state members of the international community principally the developing countries. They further expressed concern at the fact that in many cases, these policies reflected a deliberate desire on the part of some developed countries to use economic power for political ends.

In the light of the economic uncertainties and the extremely harsh conditions confronting the developing countries, the decline in official Development Assistance to developing countries in general and to the least developed countries in particular was most disturbing. The Heads of State or Government deplored the decline of concessional flows to developing countries and regretted that the official Development Assistance (ODA) target of 0.7 percent of the gross national product (GNP) called for in the international strategy of Development for the Third UN Development Decade and the ODA targets of the substantial New programme

of Action for the least Developed countries remain unfulfilled.<sup>26</sup> They stressed that the acute development problems faced by developing countries were due in substantial measure to the inadequate transfer of resources for development.

The Heads of State and Government recognised that the external debt problem of developing countries was a manifestation of the malfunctioning of the international economic system. They expressed pronounced concern over the effects of the debt crisis which has now assumed serious international political dimensions. They also noted that the enormous burden of servicing their growing external debt has been exacerbated by the restrictive adjustment process imposed by the international financial and credit institutions, as well as by the lack of access to financial markets and the stagnation in Official Development Assistance (ODA). These problems are threatening, the very stability of most developing countries.

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26. Review of International Affairs, vol. XXXVII, Sept. 20, 1986, p. 67.

The participants of the conference observed in particular that the economic situation of most countries on the African continent was a cause for grave concern, because in addition to the repercussions of the economic crisis, they had to face the devastating effects of a prolonged drought. In this context they endorsed the United Nations Programme of Action for the economic rehabilitation and development of the Africa, adopted by the thirteenth special session of the United General Assembly on the Critical Economic Situation in Africa, held in New York from 21-31 May 1986, congratulated the African countries on their efforts to stimulate their economies and resume lasting development and exhorted the members of the movement of non-aligned countries to make positive contributions towards the implementation<sup>1</sup> of this programme.

The Heads of the State or Government stressed that the increasingly inter-dependent character of the world economy, increasing interrelationship of problems, interconnection of their solutions made it all the more urgent that both the developed and developing countries

engage in serious dialogue aimed at finding common solutions to the problems currently confronting the international economy including the reform of the international monetary, financial and trading systems in the interest of both the developed and the developing countries. An integrated approach would be necessary in the interrelated areas of money, finance, external debt, trade and development. They expressed the hope that the forthcoming Forty-First Regular Session of United Nations General Assembly and the Seventh Session of UNCTAD will provide important opportunities for both the developed and developing countries to work constructively towards finding a common approach to the problems regarding the inter-related areas of money, finance external debt, trade and development.

(a) External Debt and Development:

The participants in the conference reiterated the Non-Aligned Movement's deep concern regarding the very serious consequences which the external debt crisis was having for the development process of the non-aligned

countries and other developing countries. They recognised that the problem of external indebtedness was a direct result of the prevailing world economic situation which reflected the existing inequalities and unjust international economic order.

The Heads of State and Government noted that the problem of developing countries external indebtedness had assumed serious political and social dimensions accentuated by the drastic impact of the imbalances in the international monetary, financial and trading system.<sup>27</sup> They therefore emphasized that a parochial approach to its solution which only took account of its economic characteristics or technical aspects, e.g. restricting the measures that need to be adopted with regard to the external debt and development crisis merely to financing payments abroad instead of addressing the underlying structural problem, was inadequate.

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27. Ibid., p. 68.

While recognizing the international obligations contracted by debtor countries in relation to debt, the Heads of State and Government reaffirmed that under the present circumstances the financial obligations undertaken by developing countries with creditors from developed countries and multilateral financial institutions had become intolerable; moreover, unless urgent just and durable solutions were found by the international community, for some of ~~the~~ those obligations would become beyond the capacities of their economies.

The participants reiterated their call for the immediate and full implementation of resolution 165 (S-IX) of the Trade and Development Board of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development and the recommendations of the Mid-Term Global Review of the Substantial New Programme of Action for the 1980s (SNPA) held in 1985.

The Heads of State or Government noted with appreciation, the efforts made and action taken by the



"Group of 77" in the United Nations in keeping the problem of external debt crisis and development of developing countries under constant review. Given the importance to this issue, they decided that full consideration should be given to the "External Debt Crisis Development" at the forthcoming regular session of the United Nations. They noted with satisfaction that the "group of 77" in New York had taken the necessary steps to have the issue of "External Debt crisis and Development" inscribed as a specific item on the agenda of the forty-first session of the United National General Assembly. They expressed their support for further actions in this regard by the "Group of 77" in New York. The Heads of State and Government also noted with satisfaction the conclusions of the recent thirty-third meeting of the Ministers of the "Group of 24" on International Monetary Affairs, inter alia, in the field of debt, transfer of resources and international monetary reforms. They invited the Group to continue with its efforts in searching for the solution of the pressing problems besetting the international monetary and financial relations.

The Heads of State or Government called upon the Governments of the developed creditor and developing debtor countries and international financial and banking institutions to engage in political dialogue with the developing countries in order to find jointly genuine solutions to the external debt problems of developing countries. They emphasized that, to that end, the international community should adopt a series of measures, inter-alia the following:

- (i) recognition of shared responsibilities between debtors, creditors, international financial and banking institutions.
- (ii) bringing down real interest rates not relying on the market mechanism and stretching out payments, grace and consolidation periods.
- (iv) establishing with additional resources a new credit facility in the IMF to expand the compensatory Financing Facility to alleviate the debt service burden caused by high real interest rates, substantially changing the conditionality criteria of the international financial institutions, and ensuring that any coordination between

the international Monetary Fund, the World Bank and the other multilateral financial institutions did not lead to cross-conditionality.<sup>28</sup>

(iv) limited debt service payments to a percentage of export earnings which would be compatible with the development needs and economic and social requirements of each country, developing new mechanism to help the debtor developing countries which on account of adverse exogenous factors are unable to repay their obligations to the multilateral monetary and financial institutions according to fixed schedules and reinitiating the financial flows for development;

(v) differentiating for countries heavily indebted to the international banking system, existing debt from new credit flows, for the purpose of determining interest rates, in order to provide incentives for new flows of funds to debtor countries and giving special treatment to the poorer and least developed countries in the solution of their external debt problems.

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28. Review of International Affairs, vol. XXXVII, September, 20, 1986, p. 73.

(b) Strategy For International Economic Negotiations:

It was in the common interest of all states to reactivate international economic negotiations and broaden cooperation in the economic field for the benefit of all countries. An early reactivation of dialogue and the intensification of efforts within the multilateral context of the United Nations and other international organisations was essential if the international consensus for development as embodied inter alia, in United Nations General Assembly Resolutions 3201 and 3202 (SS-VI) on the establishment of the NIEO and in the annex to General Assembly Resolution 35/36 on the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade, was to be restored. In an increasing inter-dependent world, the search for unilateral solutions whereby some countries seek economic prosperity at the expense of others was counter-productive. The interrelated problems of the world economy, especially those pertaining to money, finance, trade and development, require an integrated coherent and mutually supportive set of policies and measures.

The Seventh Summit Conference had put forward a set of cohesive and balanced proposals to stimulate the North-South dialogue with a view to the reactivation of growth and recovery in the world economy and the restructuring of international economic relations on the basis of equity and mutual benefit. These consisted of global negotiations and a programme of Immediate Measures, including an International Conference on Money and Finance for Development. While the proposals were widely welcomed as constructive, even by the developed countries, unfortunately no substantial progress had been made in implementing them because of the absence of a positive response from the major industrialized countries. They called upon the developed countries to reverse such negative trends and reiterated the needs for simultaneous action to promote a sustained recovery of the World economy, as well as its restructuring with a view to the establishment of the NIEO.

ii) The Gap Between North-South:

Before the oil crisis per capita income in the United States was projected to be \$ 10,000 in the year

2000. On the other hand, per capita income in India, was expected to reach about \$ 200 in the same year provided India managed to get enough foreign aid. Estimates of absolute income differences between the rich and the poor by the year 2000 varied between \$ 7,000 and \$ 9,000 per capita.<sup>29</sup> The absolute gap between the rich and the poor was thus likely to increase sharply, and the relative gap might also increase if population growth rates were not slowed quickly.

Projections such as those have led to a number of demands for crash programmes of reduce the gap, usually by massive international redistribution of incomes. Pestel and Mesarovic, for example in the latest club of Romebook, content that income disparities between Latin America and the industrial countries must be narrowed to 3 to 1 by 2,000 and 5 to 1 for Asia and Africa, if we hope to avoid an international system dominated by desperate acts of terror and destruction by the poor. To accomplish this, they maintain that the

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29. Jolly, R., "The Aid Relationship: Reflections on the Pearson Report", Journal of International Affairs, p. 24.

rich countries must transfer \$ 250 billion per year and \$ 500 billion if they delay much longer to the poor countries.<sup>30</sup>

The gap between the rich and the poor is not just an income gap. It is also a gap between modernised, industrialised societies with particular kinds of institutions and processes and rural, traditional societies with very different institutions and processes. These distinctions or gaps create sharp differences in productivity which is what ultimately distinguishes a developed from an underdeveloped economy, that can not be eliminated simply by transferring money.<sup>31</sup> And if they did not simply dole out the money for consumption purposes but instead attempted to use it for investment, there was no way that \$ 250 billion per year could be sensibly invested.

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30. Mesarovic, M., Pestel., E. Mainkind and the Turning Point, New York, Dulton, 1974, pp. 58-64.

31. Ranis, G., ed. The Gap Between Rich and Poor Nations, London, Macmillan, 1972, p. 4.

The notion of the gap is also misleading in other ways. As a number of economists have pointed out, international comparisons of income tend to underestimate real incomes in poor countries.

Historically the weak have had few weapons to use against the strong, except their ability to become unattractive targets. These weapons were unavailable to underdeveloped countries for they were unattractive targets only in the negative sense of reluctance to step into a "quagmire", and they were incapable of competing within any system in which they were treated as they ostensibly wanted to be treated equally. What, the underdeveloped countries did have potentially is their unity, their ability to act as an international pressure group against the rich.

What the underdeveloped countries sought through UNCTAD were improvements in their trading position "trade not aid", as the phrase (misleadingly) went. But demands



for concessions that would permit the less developing countries to increase their exports almost inevitably implied reform, not revolution. After all, the rich countries were hardly likely to be receptive to concessions that would overturn the system that had made them rich. The less developed countries at the first UNCTAD conference in 1964, committed to the notion that only unanimity would provide sufficient leverage, concurred together to develop a common position on the issues. Split every conceivable way, the "Group of 77" could remain unified only by producing "maximum common denominator" positions.<sup>32</sup> Most of the underdeveloped countries had been following inwardly oriented economic policies throughout the 1950s and early 1960s. The concessions they demanded at UNCTAD-I at Geneva were at least ostensibly much more outwardly oriented.<sup>33</sup> Prebisch, the first Secretary-General of UNCTAD, cautioned the underdeveloped countries about

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32. Gosovic, B., UNCTAD: Conflict and Compromise, London, 1972, p. 290.

33. Maddison, Economic Progress and Policy in Developing Countries, p. 220.

excessive degrees of import substitution, advocated serious efforts towards regional integration and emphasized the need to expand exports within the Third World and to both the socialist countries and the western industrialized countries.

The underdeveloped countries thus demanded a generalized market for their manufactured exports. Such demands to reverse the system of protection in favour of the underdeveloped countries directly contradicted the efforts of the industrial countries to move towards a more liberal international trading system.

The demands that Prebisch and the "Group of 77" laid about were designed to permit the underdeveloped countries to export more in order to import more. Chenery and Strout had already provided evidence that no country had been able to sustain a growth rate above its export growth rate for more than a short time.<sup>34</sup> And exports were necessary, to earn foreign

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34. Strout, M.A., Chenery, B.H., 'Foreign Assistance and Economic Development', 'American Economic Review', 56 No. 4, September 1966, pp. 679-733.

exchange to by the imports necessary for industrialization. As Prebisch indicated,

"It should not be expected that, if the income of all developing countries is to rise at the minimum by 5 per cent every year, their imports can increase at a rate much less than 6 per cent".<sup>35</sup>

The foreign exchange constraint was thus central to the "Group of 77's" calculations, especially because they believed that foreign aid levels might be sinking.

The demands of "Group of 77" at Geneva in 1964 were rejected by the developed countries. The underdeveloped countries became increasingly pessimistic thereafter about what they could expect from the external world. For example, a Conference report by the Economic Commission for Africa in 1967 concluded that "African countries needed to aim

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35. Wall, D., 'Import Capacity, Imports and Economic Growth Economica', 35 No. 138, May 1968, 158.

at achieving national self-reliance and avoid drawing up plans in which external assistance had a predominant share".<sup>36</sup> And UNCTAD-II in 1968 moved away from its emphasis on the foreign exchange constraint and argued that "external financial resources are not intended to play a dominant role in the growth process".<sup>37</sup> By 1970 self-reliance had become the new conventional wisdom. A group of radical economists thus responded to the Pearson report by arguing:

"Poor countries should aim at self-reliance (not self-sufficiency). They should structure their economies so as to minimize the impact of influences from the developed world export diversification and import substitution should be evaluated primarily in terms of their contributions to self-reliance aid would continue but the consequences of its volatility minimized and its political influence reduced at the expense of lower rates of growth of GDP, if necessary."<sup>38</sup>

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36. Ewing, A.F., Self-reliance in Africa, 'Journal of Modern African Studies', 6 No. 3, 1968, p.362.

37. Wall, Import Capacity, "Imports and Economic Growth", p. 167.

38. Ward, J.D., Runnalls, Lenore, D. Anjou, eds. The Widening gap - Development in the 1970s, New York, Columbia University Press, 1971, p. 277.

One last point about UNCTAD: The position developed by the "Group of 77" were extremely because the group felt that unity was its most powerful weapon. In the first place the rich countries themselves were not unified, especially at UNCTAD-I, and underdeveloped countries unity could not be applied with leverage against a single opposing position. Ironically the unity of underdeveloping countries may be most valuable only when they confront a unified position, for otherwise, they have nothing to manipulate. The other side of this coin is that the gains that the poor are likely to be large, small gains are probably the best that the underdeveloped countries can hope for.

Unity permitted the "Group of 77" to pass a number of resolutions at UNCTAD-I that were unacceptable to the industrial countries and to offer policies on a take-it or leave-it basis. Since the industrial countries were not bound by policies they voted against or stated reservations to, such victories were exceedingly hollow. In terms of future strategies, it seems arguable the underdeveloped countries may actually have more meaningful

power in organisations in which they have less formal power but in which all members are bound by a majority vote. It is in organisations like the International Monetary Fund (IMF) the UDC unity may be most valuable for there a unified minority can usually block actions until import concessions are argued.

UNCTAD has performed important services for the underdeveloped countries. The technical analysts of its secretariat and the experts that the secretariat has engaged, have clarified some of the contentious issues between the rich and the poor countries, many of the ideas first broached or popularized at UNCTAD have now become political negotiating issues of great significance, and UNCTAD itself has become an essential forum, not only for discussion and the quest for consensual agreement, but also for familiarizing many Third World countries with the problems and prospects of their peers. Many criticism may fairly be made of UNCTAD - the group voting

system that forced to many divergent interests into a single package, the presentation of some positions that were not carefully thought through the demand for concessions without sufficient effort to indicate why they were in the longrun interests of the rich countries, the tendency of the organisation to become too indented with the rhetoric and the stance of the most radical countries, a rather astonishing lack of political sophistication on the part of some high-level staff, and the share of responsibility for inflating expectations about what could be got from the international systems but these criticisms ought not be allowed to obscure the contributions that UNCTAD has made or to deflect an attempt to understand why UNCTAD has taken the form it has.<sup>39</sup>

The creation of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) was a reflection of Third World's changing perceptions of its own needs and its own

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39. Dell, S., 'An Appraisal of UNCTAD-III', World Development 1, No. 5, May 1973, p. 3.

relationship to the international economic system. The non-aligned movement was losing whatever international cohesiveness it once had for the underdeveloped countries were discovering, as Nyerere observed, that "all that the non-aligned nations have in common is their non-alignment".<sup>40</sup> Anticolonialism could no longer hold the movement together, and conflicts between members of the group undermined whatever claims to moral superiority, the Third World thought it had. Moreover some decline in the intensity of the cold war, as well as in foreign aid levels, vitiated the presumed tactical virtues of maneuvering between the Great power blocs. Export pessimism about the prospects for primary products was also still present, and import substitution had been in operation long enough to reveal its deficiencies. Domestic pressures to produce tangible results were rising at precisely the moment when opportunities to manipulate the international system were dissipating.

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40. Hopkins, R., and Mansbach, W.R., Structure and Process in International Politics, New York: Harper and Row, 1973, p. 149.



ix) Negotiations Between North-South:

It was the Seventh Special Session where North-South dialogue was held and many problems which third world countries highlighted through the "group of 77" but North was not responsive at all.

The statements in Plenary recognized poverty as a global concern and reflected the desire of both rich and poor nations to work together toward finding solutions to this many sided, urgent and complex problem. Though the positions of the two sides did not always converge, it was accepted that they were negotiating as equal partners. This was a significant advance over previous occasions, which had served as shouting matches between unequals. However, the gap between the public positions of the industrialized countries and the developing countries had not been narrowed in any significant way. The task of narrowing this gap fell to the ad-hoc committee which was meeting down stairs.<sup>41</sup>

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41. Singh, J.S., A New International Economic Order: Towards a Fair Redistribution of World Resources, New Delhi, Praeger, 1977, p. 29.

- Negotiations in the basement conference rooms primarily took place between the 27 member contact, the "group of 77" and "12" member contact group of western European countries. The socialist countries and China were not involved in these negotiations because they publicly supported the position of the developing countries, and they were not active participants in the financial and institutional arrangements that the developing countries wanted to be changed.

The "group of 77" had already presented its demands through its position paper circulated as part of the preparatory documents for the special session. The EEC position paper had also been made available in advance. The new element was the US position as outlined in the Kissinger/Moynihan speech. In addition, the United States circulated another document called "an informal working paper submitted by the United States of America for negotiating purposes. This paper which was circulated on the eighth day of the session, incorporated some of the terminology used by the "Group of 77," and seemed to

indicate US acceptance of some of their radical proposals. The US delegation, however, soon put an end to such speculation by insisting that the document was nothing more than a mechanism for "negotiating purposes".

The major differences between the position of the industrialised countries and the developing countries related to questions of indexation, transfer of resources, role of transnational corporations, and debt rescheduling. Indexation was pointed out and emphasized in the working paper of the "Group of 77" in a way that the industrialized countries clearly found unacceptable. The programme proposed in the working paper referred flatly to "indexation of the prices of their imports from developed countries".

The United States expressed its opposition to the idea, as did EEC members, including the foreign minister of the Federal Republic of Germany, Hans-Dietrich Genscher. However, the EEC working paper supported the idea of "remunerative prices" and referred to "ways of protecting purchasing power". The United States was in the beginning

totally opposed to any direct or indirect mention of indexation, but eventually agreed to a study of direct and indirect indexation schemes, alongwith other options, which would enable the international community to maintain the purchasing power of developing countries.

On the transfer of resources, the "Group of 77" asked the industrialized countries to accept the 0.7 percent target for official assistance. The EEC working paper indicated the willingness of the EEC member countries to try to reach this target. The United States was not willing to make any such commitment, formal or informal.<sup>42</sup> The final agreement incorporated in the Resolution 3362(S-VII) asked developed countries to confirm their continued commitment in respect of the targets relating to the transfer of resources, in particular the official development assistance target of 0.7 percent of GNP, as agreed in the international Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Decade, and adopted as their common aim an

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42. Ibid., p. 30.

-effective increase in official development assistance, with a view to achieving these targets by the end of the Decade. The United States still maintained its reservation and in their statements at the conclusion of the Seventh Special Session, both Ambassadors Myerson and Moyrihan indicated that though the United States was willing to work toward an increase in official aid, it did not want to tied down to a target.

The position paper of the "Group of 77" referred to automatic mechanisms for the transfer of real resources, which should be adopted and implemented through agreements on the establishment of a link between the special Drawing Rights (SDR) and the development assistance. A number of industrial countries had reservations on this clause.

Any direct reference to debt rescheduling was avoided because of US opposition, and the resolution recommended that UNCTAD IV consider the possibility of covering, as soon as possible a conference of major donor, creditor and debtor countries to devise ways and

means to mitigate the debt burden, taking into account the development needs of developing countries, with special attention to plight of the most seriously affected countries.

The people who played the most visible role in the discussions and negotiations in and around the ad hoc committee were Jan Bonk, the Dutch minister for development cooperation, Manuel Perez Guerrero, the Venezuelan minister of state for economic planning, and Ambassador Iqbal Akhund, President of the Economic and Social Council. Towards the very end, Thomas Enders, a top Kissinger aide, joined the US side to participate in the hard bargaining. He was brought in, probably because he was most familiar with the detailed and difficult negotiating process that had taken place in Washington within the US government to develop the US position. The patience and ingenuity required to find a text acceptable to all taxed the skills of these and other negotiators a great deal, but finally a draft was worked out that was generally acceptable to the major interested governments, including the United States.<sup>43</sup>

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43. Review of Progress in Implementation of Special Measures in Favour of the Least Developed Among the Developing countries, (UNCTAD, TD/B/AC.17/3, June 10, 1975.

The resolutions adopted by the special session draws on facts and figures provided in various UN documents, but in its orientation and approach it is very much the end product of a process of negotiations which took as its basis the demands from the "Group of 77" and revised them to make them acceptable to most of the industrialized countries. On those issues where agreement was clearly impossible the resolution provides for continuing discussions.

One of the reasons for the success of the negotiations at the special session was what they avoided ideological considerations and concentrated on specific issues. This was as true of the developed countries as of the developing. The public debate produced some sabre rattling, but the informal discussions were not vitiated by empty threats and meaningless slogans.

The OPEC countries, including the Arabs, proved flexible and pragmatic and they received unequivocal support from other developing countries. As it became evident that the links between the OPEC countries and

other developing countries could not be broken, the negotiators on the other side took this as a fact of life and focussed on the task of bringing the negotiations to a successful conclusions.

On the side of industrialized countries, the Americans were the main negotiators. They were open and patient to new suggestions on how to break deadlocks. Among the Europeans, the Dutch and the Scandinavians were ahead of the others, and often managed to persuade other Western Europeans to come along.

The quest for a New International Economic Order is an ongoing process and signifies a perennial conflict of interests between haves and have-nots on the global scale. The process is tough, tortuous and questions involved are large and slippery. The haves of industrialised North are not going to easily submit to the demands of agrarian South. However, Non-aligned and underdeveloped countries must put up a joint struggle to usher in an era of economic and social justice. It is a matter of life and death for the third world countries. They have to pursue the North-South dialogue with great patience and firm determination simultaneously.



C H A P T E R -IV

SUPER POWERS AND THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT

C H A P T E R -IVSuper Powers and the Non-aligned Movement

The rise and development of non-alignment in fifties and early sixties was a challenge to very validity and credibility of bipolar international politics. It challenged the political usefulness and moral authority of blocs led by USA and USSR in the name of individual freedom and social justice, respectively. Although, NAM comprised mostly of third world countries with little industrialisation and no technological sophistication and therefore, no standing in international trade and finance, yet it provided a way out of either/or of Capitalism Vs Communism. This challenge to the political assumptions and ideological postulates of bipolar international system was not taken kindly by ideologues of Cold War years in post World War II era. They hurled grave charges against the very raison detre of NAM, the gravest being that of John Foster Dulles castigating the movement as immoral.

It must be said that the reaction of USSR led bloc was moderate. They did not agree with the ideological assumptions or diplomatic strategies of

NAM. However, for all practical purposes they coopted with NAM countries to consolidate their own position and to launch an effective pressure on Western bloc led by United States of America. Besides, the anti-colonial sentiments of newly liberated countries against English, French, Dutch, Danish, Portuguese and Spanish rule easily coincided with the political agenda and ideological manifesto of Soviet Russia.

The United States of America took a hard-line attitude towards NAM countries. They wanted to extend their spheres of influence even inside the NAM countries and succeeded so far as it goes. Even now within NAM countries the Sheikdoms of West Asia and North Africa, most of Latin American NAM members and those of South East Asia are considered toeing the American line. On the other hand countries like India, Cuba, Afghanistan, Vietnam et. al., are deemed to be titling towards the Russian foreign policy initiatives.

This competitive bloc politics on the international plane has enhanced the prestige of third world countries as both blocs struggled to co-opt their support. However, the western bloc led by USA has, at best remained Lukewarm towards the development needs of third world countries and it was only from these countries that development finance for third world countries could come in terms of soft aid and trade terms. In view of the same the present chapter deals with the attitude of the super powers towards NAM countries.

i) The Soviet Union and the Non-Aligned Movement:

The relationship between the NAM and the USSR has been a subject of debate right from the inception of the movement. The close proximity of views of various international issues between the NAM and the USSR has been interpreted in various ways. The stand of Non-aligned countries on major international problems, laid down in the basic documents of their conferences and meetings, coincides in the main with the position of USSR and other socialist countries. This is true of

such issues as the consolidation of peace and its spread to all continents, disarmament, support for national liberation movements, expansion of international cooperation and restructuring of international relations. The USSR has always supported the stand of the NAM on various issues. There has been no instance when there have been differences between the NAM and USSR.

The Soviet Union was the first big power to come out in support of NAM and has always been. The identity of viewson various issues affecting the world has brought Soviet Union and the non-aligned countries closer. The opponents of the NAM in the west in the early days viewed the proximity of views of the non-aligned countries and the Soviet Union with suspicion. They even went to the extent of calling the movement as pro-Soviet and anti-West. The anti-imperialist content of the NAM was not to the liking of Western powers. The policy of keeping away from military alliances was interpreted as immoral.

However, as their military alliances failed to attack the newly freed countries and eventually collapsed

and more and more countries joined the non-aligned group, the western opponents of non-aligned began to change their tactics. Grudgingly they began to recognise the NAM in a half-hearted manner. As the movement had come to stay and was playing an important role in the international affairs, they could not ignore it. They began to make attempts to see that the anti-imperialist content of the movement was watered down and that the movement was weakened from within. They started a campaign to wean the movement away from what they termed as "Soviet influence". However, they have not met with much success in watering down the basic content of the movement or in disrupting its unity. The successful conclusions of the New Delhi Summit and the documents adopted stand testimony to this. The anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist and anti-racist policy pursued by the non-aligned countries and their efforts to strengthen peace and international security have fostered greater cohesion of these countries in working towards stronger political and economic independence.<sup>1</sup> Of paramount importance for the world

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1. Cecit, V., Crabb., Jr., Nations in Multi Polar World, New York, 1968, p. 425.

community was the non-aligned countries policy of principle against the racist regimes in the South of Africa and their imperialist patrons. The final documents of all the non-aligned conferences recorded their unanimous support for the peoples fighting for their national and social liberation and the condemnation of imperialist schemes in Africa.

The Soviet Union and other socialist countries regard non-alignment as the policy of a large group of developing countries and the NAM as an influential force in the world arena and from the outset supported the movements resolutions and initiatives in every possible way. The Soviet Union and all the socialist countries welcomed and have always considered it a positive factor in the development of international relations. The socialist countries that are not members of the non-aligned movement build their relations with the non-aligned countries on the basis of equality, non-interference in the domestic affairs, mutual respect and

with due account for their common goals, the struggle for peace and peaceful co-existence and against imperialism and colonialism.<sup>2</sup> The socialist countries invariably came out for stronger political and economic independence of the developing countries.

Soviet messages to the non-aligned Conferences, from the Belgrade Summit on, have spoken highly of the movement and wished it success in fighting for peace, national independence and freedom. Western powers are trying to emasculate the anti-imperialist nature of NAM and to undermine cooperation between the non-aligned and socialist countries. Exposing these activities Fidel Castro said at the Algiers conference that all attempts to drive a wedge between the non-aligned and socialist countries were in fact of counter-revolutionary nature and played into the hands of the imperialist forces alone. Addressing the concluding sitting of the

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2. Rana, A.P., The Imperatives of Non-Alignment, 1976, p.23.



Conference, the late Algerian President, Houari Boumediene, pointed out in his turn that the NAM relies on the socialist community.<sup>3</sup>

The fourth Conference adopted a declaration calling for stronger cooperation with the socialist States to oppose the imperialist forces. It also supported some of the Soviet peace initiatives, for example, to establish a collective security system. A separate resolution was also adopted on the national liberation movements denouncing the policy pursued by the NATO countries and reiterating the legitimate right of the oppressed nations to struggle for their independence with the help of arms.

Long before the NAM came into being, the young Soviet State consistently and resolutely defended the right of all nations to self-determination and the

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3. Ibid., p. 24.

choice of independent development. Right after the socialist revolution triumphed in Russia in 1917, the Soviet governments' earliest measures with respect to the countries of the orient were to make public and annual secret inter-imperialist agreements, to which the Tsarist government had been party, to break fettering treaties which had been imposed by tsarism upon China, Turkey and Iran, to transfer concessions to Iran and annul to its debts. The Soviet delegation at Geneva Conference in 1922 proposed to restructure international economic relations on the basis of respect for sovereignty, non-interference in domestic affairs, equality and mutual benefit.<sup>4</sup>

The Soviet Union always considered its internationalist duty to support the liberation movements of Asia, Africa and Latin American nations and welcomed the growing role that non-aligned states were playing in international affairs.

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4. Henery, P. Shenidan, Fundamentals of Non-Alignment, Eastern World, vol. XVIII, No. 8, 1964, p. 8.

Diverse aid given by world socialism to the national liberation movements, which subsequently gave birth to the NAM, became especially manifest in the post-war period. In February 1946, the Soviet Union supported the appeal by Syria and Lebanon, would be members of the NAM, for the withdrawal of British and French troops from their territories.

In 1947, it backed the demand by Egypt that British troops should pull out of it. In early 1946, the USSR raised at the UN Security Council the question of Britain's stopping military operations in Indonesia, in 1947 and 1948, it again spoke out at the UN in defence of the young Indonesian Republic and against Dutch aggression, economic blockade and political isolation. In November 1956, at the heat of the military intervention by Britain, France and Israel against Egypt, the Soviet Union took a decisive step by demanding that the aggression be immediately stopped and announcing its firm determination to use force in its turn, if need

be, to defend the victim of that aggression. The economic, political and military potential of the USSR and other socialist countries forced the imperialist states to make concessions to the young developing nations and to refrain from direct acts of aggression and use of force.<sup>5</sup> Consistently opposing imperialism's interference in the internal affairs of the young states and advocating the elimination of the colonial system, the Soviet Union worked to ensure the adoption of resolutions in support of the national liberation movements in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. For example, in 1960 the USSR brought to the consideration by the UN General Assembly a draft Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples. The UN General Assembly adopted the corresponding Declaration, which was formulated on the basis of Soviet proposals.<sup>6</sup>

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5. Mukherjee, S. New Perspectives of Non-Alignment, Colombo Summit, New Delhi, 1976, p. 11.

6. The Hindu, August 9, 1976.

The Soviet Union has always actively imperialist aggression in the Middle East, rendering political, diplomatic and economic support to the movement members, such as Jordan, Lebanon, Syria, Iraq and Palestine Liberation Organisation. It opposed a concrete programme of easing tensions in the region, demanded that foreign troops be withdrawn from Lebanon and Jordan, and so on. It backed the Indonesian people in their struggle against the Dutch and American aggressors, consistently and actively upheld the independence of states such as Zaire, Cyprus, Cuba, Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea, and successfully helped normalise and stabilise the political situation in South Asia in 1965-1966 (The Tashkent Agreement Between India and Pakistan, January 1966). The USSR and other socialist countries actively supported the Nigerian government in its struggle to preserve the federal state against the separatists who proclaimed the establishment of the State of Biafra (1967-1969). The Soviet Union adopted an internationalist approach to the national liberation struggle and the right of peoples to self-determination when the Republic of Bangladesh proclaimed its independence

(in 1971) and afterwards. Of tremendous importance was and continues to be the support given by the Soviet Union and other socialist states to the people's Republic of Angola and Ethiopia defending their independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and natural unity against the encroachments by the force of imperialism, racism and international action.<sup>7</sup>

In the 1970s, cooperation between the socialist and non-aligned countries was increasingly turning into a factor of peace and easing tensions in international relations. The protocols and resolutions of the UN General Assembly sessions and specialized UN agencies furnish a convincing proof of the unvariable, consistent and principled position of Soviet Union in defending the right of non-aligned and all developing states to independence, non-interference in their affairs and social progress. Suffice it to recall the resolute efforts by Soviet delegations at the Sixth (April 1974)

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7. Benevolensky, V., The Non-Aligned Movement: From Belgrade to New, Delhi, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1985, p. 95.

and Seven (September 1975) Special UN General Assembly sessions in support of young states right to the utilization of their own natural resources. The Sixth Special UN General Assembly Session convened on the initiative of the developing states discussed problems of raw materials and economic development and also, in keeping with the resolutions of the fourth non-aligned Summit Conference in Algiers, the problem of restructuring international economic relations.<sup>8</sup> Joint efforts by the socialist countries and young states resulted in the adoption of the well-known programme of New International Economic Order, which declared that all States had the inalienable right to use their own resources and, what is more important, the right to nationalise the property of foreign monopolies.

Guided by the leninist foreign policy principles which envision all-round support for the peoples of fighting their national liberation, the Soviet Union,

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8. Ibid., p. 96.

along with its constant political and diplomatic support, gave young states and national liberation movements enormous economic aid without any strings of political, military or any other nature. In so doing it is not after any rights, including the right to profit from enterprises it has built or other projects. Economic Cooperation between the Soviet Union and other Socialist States, on the one hand, and developing countries on the other, helps the latter above all to develop their individual countries and to overcome the backwardness and dependence on imperialist states and their monopolies. This cooperation between socialist countries and young states made the imperialists in some cases ease the terms of their "aid".

The following figures give an idea of the scale of economic cooperation between socialist and non-aligned states. In 1955, the USSR and India signed an agreement on building with Soviet aid a major steel works in Bhilai with a capacity of one million tons of steel a year. During the same period agreements on trade and economic cooperation were concluded with Burma, Egypt,



Lebanon, Afghanistan and some other countries, later on agreements were signed with Indonesia, Nepal, Sri Lanka, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, Mali and others on Soviet economic and technical aid in implementing their economic development plans. By 1982, the USSR maintained economic and technical cooperation with the total of 70 Asian, African and Latin American States.<sup>9</sup>

By the early 1980s the Soviet Union had helped build 1,700 industrial enterprises, electric power plants, hydropower complexes and other economic projects in newly free states. These have a considerable role to play in their national economies. For example, the metallurgical enterprises built in India with Soviet aid account for 35 percent of the entire steel output (19 million tons), 50 percent of the country's oil output, 70 percent of the turbines and 80 percent of the mining equipment produced in the country. Soviet geologists found oil in Syria and now profits from

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9. Ibid., p. 97.

oil exports exceed 50 percent of all currency receipts of the country. The Helwan Metallurgical plant built in Egypt with Soviet aid accounts for 100 percent of big iron, 74 percent of Steel, 70 percent of rolled goods, and 100 percent of coke produced in the country, Enterprises built with Soviet aid in Guinea give 20 percent of the over all output of bauxites in the country; similar enterprises built in Ethiopia give 100 percent of the country's output of oil products and those built in Algeria account for 100 percent of the national output of big iron and mercury. The building and equipment of major complexes with the help of Socialist States (for instance, giant Steel works in Bhilai and Bokaro, India and in Helwan, Egypt, as well as hydropower projects on the Nile and the Euphrates) forced the west to revise its "aid" strategy.

As industrial projects built with the help of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries were put into operation, the public sector began taking

shape in some of the non-aligned states, promoting their economic development and industrialisation, with every passing year the socialist countries are giving ever wider aid to young states in training their national personnel for industry, agriculture, transport, health service, education and so on.

Of no small importance is cooperation between the Soviet Union and non-aligned countries in strengthening their defence potential to enable them defend themselves from attempts of imperialist aggression. The aid given by Soviet military experts and the training of the national military personnel at military educational establishments in Socialist countries, some non-aligned Asian, African and Latin American states were able to form or re-equip their armies and withstand direct acts of armed aggression by imperialist states. The re-equipment of the Indonesian army (1961-65), the Cuban army (1961) and those of Egypt and Syria (1968-1973) provide characteristic examples of Soviet aid in this field. The selfless military aid given by the Soviet

Union to Afghanistan, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, Angola, Ethiopia and Algeria illustrates the internationalist duty performed by the Soviet people to nations fighting for their national independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and national unity.<sup>10</sup>

Active Soviet efforts to ensure peace and the security of all nations enjoy support among the non-aligned countries. They ensured the adoption by the UN of a number of resolutions on some burning problems, such as the strengthening of the world peace and security, disarmament, the prevention of aggression, the curbing of the arms race, and the struggle against colonialism and racism. At the 34th UN General Assembly Session (1979) the developing countries backed the resolution "on the Inadmissibility of the policy of Hegemonism in international relations" which had been proposed by the Soviet Union, and at the 35th UN General Assembly Session another Soviet proposal, the draft resolution "on some pressing Measures to Lessen the War Danger" also met with support by the majority of

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10. Review of International Affairs, Belgrade, No. 704-705, August 20, 1979, p. 15.

non-aligned states.<sup>11</sup>

In 1983, the Warsaw Treaty States proposed to the NATO members to conclude a Treaty on the Mutual Non-Use of Military Force and Maintenance of Relations of Peace in the interests of preserving universal peace and the security of nations, including the non-aligned countries. Thereupon, the Soviet Union brought for the consideration by the 38th UN General Assembly Session (1983) another important issue "Freezing Nuclear Armaments" and proposed that a declaration on "Condemning Nuclear War" be adopted. The Soviet proposals were accepted by the World Community. Finally, the USSR proposed then an agreement on the renunciation of the use of ~~force for~~ military purposes be concluded, and in January 1984, the Socialist Countries passed to the NATO countries a draft agreement on the non-use of chemical weapons.

The Soviet Union and other socialist countries have actively been supporting the developing countries'

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11. Review of International Affairs, No. 714, 1980, p. 16.

Proposals aiming at combatting colonialism, racism and neo-Colonialism and at strengthening security and stability on all the continents.

Active support for the developing states' struggle for the restructuring of international economic relations is another key element of the policy pursued by the Soviet Union and other Socialist countries.

The 25th CPSU Congress pointed out, "that with the present correlation of world class forces, the liberated countries are quite able to resist imperialist diktat and achieve just that, is equal economic relations".<sup>12</sup> The Soviet Union is an active supporter of developing countries' just demands for the radical transformation of existing unequal international economic relations and for an end to discriminating practices pursued by imperialist monopolies and international cooperation towards the young states. It has already been mentioned

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12. Documents and Resolutions, XXVth Congress of the CPSU, N osh Publishing House, Moscow, 1976, p.16.

earlier that the Soviet Union made proposals at the 31st UN General Assembly Session (1976), stating that "the nature of international economic relations, which took shape against the backdrop of an entirely different alignment of world forces and which meets only the selfish interests of imperialist monopolies, now contradicts the vital interests of the vast majority of countries and the development of the general international situation. At the same time the socialist states criticise those provisions of the programme of the New International Economic Order, which reflect attempts to detach the solution of foreign economic problems from profound socio-economic transformation in the developing countries and to meet the requirements of the developing countries alone. International Economic Relations should be restructured in the interest of all countries and nations rather than in the interests of some separate group of countries.

The so-called theories of 'rich and poor countries' and of "North and South" ignore the differences existing between the socialist and capitalist states in order to

justify the equal responsibility and, consequently, equal obligations to the non-aligned countries by both the imperialist states, which rapaciously exploited the colonial and dependent countries, and the socialist states, which have never had colonies and always built their relations with other countries on the basis of equality, mutual benefit and non-interference in internal affairs. Unfortunately, the non-aligned movement in resolutions of its forums sometimes expresses support for the thesis of "equal demands".

The socialist states consider the restructuring of international economic relations as inseparably connected with the general improvement of the international situation, attaching prime importance to detente, the ending of the arms race and disarmament in the world.

Developed socialist countries and many non-aligned nations maintain relations of friendship and diverse cooperation. Developing countries, especially, those of



socialist orientation, show considerable interest in the historical experience of the USSR and other Socialist Community countries, as many problems of socialist countries had to tackle in building their states, developing their economies, national relations and cultures, and training the national personnel are now being tackled by the young Asian, African and Latin American states.

ii) The United States Response Towards Non-Aligned Movement:

After the Second World War one of the main goals of American foreign policy was to suppress the national liberation struggle and to preserve the system of dependence of Asian and African countries on capitalist powers. American imperialism "updated" that goal depending on a concrete situation and changes in the alignment of forces between the two opposite socio-political systems-- imperialism and socialism the constant element of the general strategy was the desire to keep the emergent states dependent on imperialism by using all sorts of

pressure (political, economic and ideological), subversive activities and direct interference in their internal affairs. In the military strategic field the attention was focussed on the conclusion of military pacts with the widest possible participation of newly free states,<sup>13</sup> especially those bordering on the USSR and other socialist countries or located in close proximity to them. That was why whenever newly free countries refused to join aggressive military political blocs, imperialism became alarmed and hostile, resorting to all forms of pressure, threats and blackmail towards them. In the early 1950s imperialist powers put pressure to bear on India, Burma, Ceylon and Indonesia, that is to say, the pioneers and active organisers of NAM, who prepared and successfully conducted the Bandung Conference and then the first (Belgrade) Conference.

In the 1950s during the Cold War unleashed by the US and western countries against the USSR and other socialist countries, some newly free states found

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13. Jansen, G.H., Afro-Asia and Non-Alignment, London, 1966, p. 13.

themselves drawn into the sphere of imperialist influence, which greatly jeopardized the security and sovereignty of other developing countries. The ideological induction of the leaders of those newly free states was largely based on the thesis formulated by the then US Secretary of States, John Foster Dulles, to the effect that the policy of non-alignment was insolvent and unpromising. Later on he declared the concept of non-alignment outmoded and even amoral and short-sighted, with the exception of some of its principles.<sup>14</sup>

As the non-aligned movement developed and its ranks grew, along with its prestige and influence on international affairs, the US realised that its former tactics was unpromising. In the early 1960s it renounced patently hostile pronouncements with respect to the non-aligned movement and used a different tactics.

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14. Ibid., p. 14.

Already in the late 1950s different government and private research bodies in the US undertook an indepth study of the problems of preserving the position of capitalism in Asian and African countries and worked out measures capable of, to quote former US Secretary of States, Henery Kissinger, resisting "The force of attraction" and the pressure of communism on these countries. In his policy statement of 1962 President Kennedy spoke about the need to gain "new frontiers" and to revise some old fashioned ideas of the world. Under the new circumstances the imperialist powers could no longer hope to see the "Policy from strength" succeed which, however, is not to say that imperialism renounced its former goals. Its "updated" course was based on the idea of directing the newly free countries socio-economic development along capitalist lines. As before, the USA intended to use the potential and means of other capitalist powers to preserve and strengthen as far as possible the dependence of the emergent states on these powers and besides, re-distribute the spheres of influence, consolidating the US position

at the expense of former colonial powers. It was envisioned to give more active support to and to set up reactionary dictatorial regimes in developing countries that would pursue pro-American policy. The US modified its attitude towards the non-alignment policy. Chester Bowles, Under-Secretary of State, said in April, 1961 that the USA would 'respect' the neutrality of those countries that had opted for the policy of non-alignment and help them build stable and strong societies capable of maintaining independence.<sup>15</sup> In 1961, the so-called Development Assistance Committee was founded by 20 Western capitalist countries, who wanted to use the organisation in the changed circumstances to maintain and enhance as far as possible the newly-free states dependence on the industrially developed capitalist countries and to pursue the neo-colonialist policy in more covert forms.

These steps were aimed at Camouflaging the true goals of imperialism. It was precisely the 1960s that

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15. Malhotra, I., Thirty Years of Non-Alignment, The Illustrated Weekly of India, vol. XCVII, Sept. 12-18, 1976, p. 9-10.

saw the growing pressure to bear on the developing countries with the help of all sorts of means capable to disrupt the policy of non-alignment from within, to emasculate its anti-imperialist content and to weaken the links between the non-aligned states and socialist countries.

Imperialism began paying special attention to the ideological struggle against socialism. Stepping up its propaganda of the "advantages" of the capitalist world, emphasis was placed on the thesis of the "Civilising" mission of colonialism, the need and expediency of planting and developing capitalism in the newly-free countries for the sake of their "accelerated economic growth".

It should be pointed out that the US often replaced these methods of neocolonialism with direct military aggression, which showed that American strategy towards the developing countries involved terrorist activities, destabilisation of progressive

regimes in these countries and disruption of the non-aligned movement.<sup>16</sup> In August 1964, the US attacked the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and frequently used arms against Cambodia. It rendered vast aid to Portugal in suppressing the national liberation movements in its African Colonies. April 1965 saw the US armed aggression against the Dominican Republic. In mid 1966, the US administration declared the "Johnson's Asia Doctrine", the true purpose of which was to suppress the national liberation movements in Asia. The CIA began increasingly interfering in the developing States' domestic affairs.

American strategists wanted the Vietnam war to teach the emergent States a lesson, impressing upon them that they had nothing else to do but to seek US patronage and to follow its imperialist policy.<sup>17</sup> The

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16. Malaviya, H.D., Non-Alignment Onward, March, Delhi, 1981, p. 17.

17. Rahman, M.M., The Politics of Non-Alignment, New Delhi, 1969, p. 87.

vast military and economic aid given by the US failed to help the reactionary puppet regime retain power in Saigon.

The Vietnam war showed that, supported by the broad mass of the people and by the comprehensive aid of socialist countries, the progressive forces were capable of emerging victorious in the struggle for their freedom and independence, even if they were opposed by US imperialism.

The strategy of neo-colonialism aiming, among other things, at sapping the anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist content of the non-alignment movement, centered as before largely on economic aspects. Aware of the futility of openly opposing the non-aligned countries striving towards economic independence, the neo-colonialists began looking for round-about ways of attaining their main goal to perpetuate these countries as an appendix to the developed capitalist states. For example, American economic aid to Egypt was openly



aimed at making that country dependent on the US, in February 1963, in response to the decision by the Ceylon government to nationalise the property of American Caltex and Esso Oil concerns and also that of the British-Dutch shell corporation on its territory, the US presented it with an ultimatum to pay indemnities to American companies.<sup>18</sup>

It is common knowledge that some developing countries managed to nationalise the property of western monopolies on their territory without any compensation, arguing that in the course of their 'activities' the latter had made enormous profits by ruthlessly exploiting the local labour and natural resources. In the late 1960s when it became clear that the US was to suffer defeat in Vietnam and in the conditions of a changed alignment of forces in the world, the US administration was forced to

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18. Nehru, J., India's Foreign Policy, Selected Speeches, September 1946 April 1961, Government of India, p.249.

revise all aspects of its foreign policy, including relations with the socialist countries, above all with the Soviet Union, to reconsider the terms of "Partnership" with West European countries and Japan and to devise new forms of relations with the non-aligned states.<sup>19</sup> In a bid to maintain and consolidate the position of American imperialism in the developing countries, the US administration, headed at that time by Richard Nixon, declared for purely Propaganda purposes its determination to "avoid involving the US into world conflicts". This 'new approach' to the developing countries found clear-cut expression in the so-called Nixon Doctrine, which hypocritically proclaimed the principles of "Partnership" and that of "Self reliance" as underlying American foreign policy.<sup>20</sup>

According to the Nixon Doctrine, the American tactic of the period did not envision American withdrawal from those regions. The US intended to change the balance of world forces in their favour, particularly with the help of the regimes dependent on it politically and

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20. Ibid., p. 1777.

especially economically, and by "tying" developing countries to imperialist powers. This tactic influenced some of the non-aligned countries, and the position they adopted provided a graphic illustration of attempt to sap the anti-imperialist nature of resolutions passed by the non-aligned forums.

In the late 1970s, the situation in the world worsened dramatically: US military spending reached record figures, while the US administration was bent on seeking military superiority over the Socialist Community and trying to justify the possibility of conducting a "limited", "Protracted" and other types of nuclear war. The American strategy in international affairs became characterised by a sharp toughening of its policy towards the developing countries and by its stepped up activities to create tensions and conflicts among the developing countries. The destabilisation of regimes Washington found undesirable, extended military American presence far beyond its borders, the formation

and use of the American Rapid Development Force in the developing countries, and the building and expansion of military bases there are but a few practical actions that seriously jeopardize the non-aligned and for that matter all other countries of the world. The US has launched an offensive against the developing countries in general and the non-aligned states in particular. In political field intensive use is being made of the tactic of whipping up regional and bilateral conflicts with the aim of intruding in the conflict areas and building up its military presence there, suppressing the local national liberation movements and undermining progressive social and economic transformation. The non-aligned countries are being drawn into the arms race, which is an unbearable burden for their budgets and besides, breeds an atmosphere of suspicion among their neighbours who are eventually drawn into the arms race and inevitably land themselves in the snares of economic and, consequently, political dependence on the arms producers western imperialist states, first and foremost the US. The US expands the network of

its military strategic installations in different regions of the world and wrings out of the governments of some non-aligned countries (Somalia, Oman, Morocco, Egypt and Kenya) their consent to the American armed forces using their military bases.<sup>21</sup> Another militarist action by American imperialism was the foundation, on January 1, 1983, of the so-called Central Command (CENTCOM) with its sphere of operation covering 19 non-aligned states in Africa and Asia, a considerable part of the Indian Ocean and also the Persian Gulf. It was made public that the Central Command has its disposal the rapid Deployment Force and military bases on Diego Garcia, in Oman, Somalia, Kenya and some other states. The forces under this command are ready to start military operations against the states in the region at any moment.<sup>22</sup> During preparations for, and the holding of, the Sixth and Seventh Conferences American imperialism tried to use the conservative regimes in some non-aligned states to compromise the foreign policies,

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21. Mukherjee, S., New Perspectives of Non-Alignment, Colombo Summit Peoples Publishing House, New Delhi, 1976, p. 8.

22. Ibid., p. 9.

pursued by Cuba, Vietnam and some other socialist countries members of the NAM. The western powers were disappointed to see that the Seventh Conference, planned previously to be held in Baghdad, was not postponed indefinitely. Subsequently, in the course of preparations for the Conference the imperialists tried to ensure that it got "bogged down" in debates on problems of secondary importance and in this way to undermine the movement from within and to detract from its anti-imperialist character.

In spite of imperialist machinations, the Havana and then Delhi Conferences were a success and demonstrated the developing states striving after stronger peace and the security of nations, the termination of the arms race and transition to disarmament, the restructuring of international economic relations on just and democratic principles and complete and comprehensive decolonisation. The participants in the Delhi forum pointed out that only American patronage and support enabled Israel to carry through its expansionist

plans and perpetrate lawlessness and crime against the Arab people. Sharp criticism was levelled at American support for the racist South African regime.

Representatives of Latin American States spoke at the Delhi Summit about the threat of American military invasion in Central America. They cited indisputable facts of Washington's subversive activities against Cuba and Nicaragua and of impudent American interference in the internal affairs of El Salvador whose people are fighting against the reactionary dictatorship.<sup>23</sup>

When considering economic relations between the non-aligned and western countries, the conferences, as before, denounced even more resolutely the policy of trade sanctions, blockade and other forums of coercion and blackmail pursued by the capitalist powers as a means of political pressure and interference in the domestic affairs of Sovereign States. The Delhi forum condemned

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23. Rama Rao, T.S., Non-Alignment Trends and Prospects, Indian Year Book of International Affairs, vol. XIV, 1965, p. 581.

the attempts by the West, first and foremost the US, to sabotage. UN decisions on holding global talks on key problems of a New International Economic Order, including the problem of raw materials, energy sources, trade economic development and finances.

Speaking at Delhi Conference, Fidel Castro pointed out that the threat of war, which already existed during the 1979 meeting of the non-aligned countries, started heightening intensively when President Reagan decided to seek military superiority for the US over the USSR and that for NATO over the WARSA Treaty Organisation. In his opinion, the runaway arms race was directly encroaching upon the security of the developing countries. The Conference paid much attention to the situation in the South of Africa. For example, Jose Eduardo Dos Santos, President of the people's Republic of Angola, said that some Western countries, members of the so-called contact group (the US, France, Britain, West Germany and Canada), instead of facilitating the immediate and unconditional withdrawal



of South African troops from Angolan territory invaded by them way back in 1979, are trying to distract the international community from the solution of that problem by marking time during negotiations and through diplomatic manoeuvres and pressure.<sup>24</sup> The US ties the granting of independence to Namibia to the withdrawal of the Cuban international forces from Angola, though it is common knowledge that UN Security Council Resolution No. 435 on the elimination of the colonial regime in Namibia makes no mention of such a condition. The attempt to 'tie' the granting of independence to Namibia to the withdrawal of the Cuban military units was denounced at many international forums, since the presence of Cuban military units (on the result of the legitimate Angolan government) in no way violates the corresponding provisions of the UN Charter nor the principles or purposes of that international organisation.<sup>25</sup> The Political Declaration of the Delhi Conference stressed that the attempt to make

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24. Stein, R., Yugoslavia and Non-Aligned World, 1970, p.62.

25. Ibid., p. 63.

the two things conditional was nothing but interference in the internal affairs of the people's Republic of Angola. The non-aligned countries recorded in their documents their demand for an immediate and unconditional withdrawal of South African troops from Angolan territory and their resolute condemnation of the acts of military, political and economic destabilisation made by the racist South African regime against Angola, Mozambique, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland and the Seychelles.

In response to the resolutions passed by the non-aligned states the South African regime committed in early 1984, with the connivance of the imperialist states, fresh acts of aggression against Angola by invading its territory for up to 300 kilometers. South Africa has elevated terrorism to the level of state policy and for a long time now has been waging, with American support, an undeclared war against people's Republic of Angola.<sup>26</sup>

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26. Ibid., p. 64.

Turning back to the plenary meetings at the Delhi Conference, mention should be made of the active role played by the delegation of the people's Democratic Republic of Yemen. Ali Nasser Muhammad, Chairman of the presidium of the supreme people's Council and Prime Minister of Yemen, said that the emergence of new seats of tension was a direct result of the attempts by American imperialism to tip the balance of forces in its favour, to enslave independent countries and stamp out the national liberation movements, and to establish undivided imperialist rule in the world.<sup>27</sup>

American reaction to Delhi Summit and its results forcefully demonstrated the Reagan administration's actual attitude to the developing states. India was subject to tangible pressure on the part of the US, which refused to purchase some traditional Indian goods, textiles, in particular, while the Asia Developmental Bank, in which the US financial oligarchy is quite influential, refused to give loans to India, and the

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27. Final Communique, Conference of Foreign Ministers of the Coordinating Bureau of Non-Aligned Countries, New Delhi, 7-11 April, 1977.

American published maps of Indian territory in which some regions (for instance, the state of Jammu and Kashmir) were shown as not belonging to the country. Following the Delhi Conference the American imperialism nearly doubled its military aid to Pakistan, on whose territory military bases are being set up to coordinate the operation of the Rapid Deployment Force, a component of all units at the disposal of the CENTCOM. It is pertinent to point out these actions by the US are but a fraction of Washington's strategy, in keeping with which vast areas of the world have been proclaimed by the Reagan administration an "American Zone" or a "Zone of vital American interests". The "operations" in Nicaragua, crimes in Lebanon, support for the South African racists, militarisation of the Indian Ocean and the tropedding of the resolution of the non-aligned movement and the UN on turning the Indian Ocean into a Zone of Peace are but a few results of that strategy. It is not the first time that the US resorts to the "big stick" policy. But today the danger lies in that as the latest resolutions of the NAM expressed it, this policy is being pursued in new historical circumstances when

it is a matter of life and death not only for millions of people, but for humanity as a whole.

In the economic sphere, transnational corporation (TNC) whose rapacious, self-seeking activities bring colossal damage to the developing countries economies, serve as powerful levers of imperialist pressure to bear on the non-aligned and the rest of the developing countries.

In the field of ideology, the US is trying to wreck the anti-colonialist tendencies of the NAM, its struggle for the national independence and support for the national liberation movements. With glaring Cynicism, the imperialist, primarily American, Propaganda identifies the national liberation movements of our day and the struggle of the peoples for their freedom and independence with "international terrorism".<sup>28</sup> Nevertheless, the then President Reagan did not hesitate to declare cynically in his message to the Delhi Conference, that the US was true to the principles of non-alignment. In practice,

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28. Benevolensky, V. The Non-Alignment Movement, From Belgrade to Delhi, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1985, p. 98.

however, the Reagan administration was stepping up its interference in the affairs of young non-aligned states by announcing various regions of the developing world to be "Zones of American Security".

Speaking at the 38th UN General Assembly Session on September 26, 1983, Reagan made discourteous remarks towards the members of the NAM. The Indian statesman, commenting on his statement, wrote that among other things, he called on the UN to "ressert" its moral authority and said that "Pseudo non-alignment" was not the way to go about it. He also declared that "Psedo non-alignment" is no better than Pseudo arms control" and that some non-aligned nations contribute to polarization of the United Nations".<sup>29</sup>

Non-alignment has been primarily as reaction against bipolar international system. It tried to project the point of view of developing countries across the global nations, confrontations and alliances. It did

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29. The Statesman, September 27, 1983.

inspire a measure of solidarity amongst the developing countries. Being pitted against super powers and highly powerful and systematically organised bloc politics, it was unavoidable that they should develop a bond<sup>of</sup>/fraternity.

However, Non-Alignment was never and is not a monolith. There have been serious differences amongst NAM members themselves. They have often fought amongst themselves. We have been seeing Vietnam militarily intervening in Campuchea, Iran fighting against Iraq, India and Pakistan crossing swords, Libya fighting against Sudan and Egypt, Syria and Iraq being at loggerheads and lately Iraq invading Kuwait etc. Therefore, NAM countries have not been able to put up a united front against super power interventions. For example Iran-Iraq war took a heavy toll of human lives and destroyed infrastructure worth billions of dollars. NAM countries could do precious little to defuse this long-drawn-out war between its member countries. Even now, no NAM initiative has been of any help to defuse the Gulf crisis generated by Iraqi occupation of Kuwait and American military intervention in view of the same. There is every likelihood of a war taking place in the

Gulf shortly. Non-Aligned forum is only requesting for a peaceful settlement of the issue through its inter-ministerial meetings at Belgrade and at United Nations Headquarters. Nothing much can be retrieved from these pleas by NAM countries. It is a pity that NAM has not been able to play an effective role even in intra-NAM conflicts. That naturally leads to lowering of its international prestige and standing.

However, one cannot help saying that NAM should have taken a clear-cut stand on the present Gulf imbroglio. It should play a fruitful role. It should have told Iraq in no uncertain terms that its occupation of Kuwait is violative of UN Charter and the principles of NAM as well. Therefore, it should vacate from Kuwait as early as possible. However, there is another side to be taken note of as well. American intervention, although sanctioned by UN, is highly partisan and therefore totally unacceptable. Iraq's plea of working out a comprehensive solution is worthy of deep consideration. NAM should support and as well call for a UN sponsored International Conference in which all Arab questions including the problems of



Palestine and Lebnon could be peacefully resolved.

In the final analysis, the very validity and relevance of NAM seems to have come under the cloud in view of rapid dissolution of Soviet bloc. Is NAM relevant in view of Soviet Unions' abdication of its super power role.

Well arguments can be advanced for and against the validity of NAM in current international politics. However, the relevance of NAM should not be seriously doubted. NAM has to play a role vital to the interests of third world countries. It will have to stand up against NATO bloc interventions and other future scenarios in the womb of near future. The most important task of NAM is to fight for a New International Economic Order. The establishment of that order will be a long and a painful process. The dissolution of warsaw pact alliance will make no difference to that struggle. In addition, NAM must take active interest in environmental questions as highly industrialised countries are playing with the future of entire mankind. Besides, NAM must actively struggle for the elimination of Nuclear armaments. Otherwise, both developing and developed countries will blunder into a nuclear winter.

## C O N C L U S I O N

### Conclusion

Non-aligned Movement is a mixed product of twentieth century political tussels, two world wars and various Afro-Asian freedom struggles. Other economic, military and strategic factors that shaped the history of our century also contributed to the rise and development of Non-aligned movement. It became the most authentic voice of Southern hemisphere of the globe comprising of scores of Asian, African and Latin American countries.

The end of world war II may well be taken as the point of departure for any whole some study of NAM. In fact, post world war II era heralded new political alliances and ideological perspectives. The most significant development after second world war was the emergence of a world-order ostensibly bifurcated on ideological grounds. The NATO countries under the leadership of United States of America claimed to stand for freedom, free economic enterprise and liberal secular democracy. On the other hand, the Warsaw-Pact countries led by Soviet Union championed the cause of socialism entailing central economic planning, & nationalisation of means and modes of production. Thus emerged an era of intense cold war on the international scene. The

Northern America and Western Europe conceived Eastern European governments and Soviet Union as standing for suppression of human rights and individual freedom and initiative. As against this, the Warsaw-pact governments charged western democracies as standing for exploitation of masses, social injustice and economic imperialism. Thus, there emerged a politico-ideological polarisation in terms of capitalism Vs. Socialism or Free Enterprise Vs Planned Economy.

Ostensibly this post world war II cold war between USA and USSR was conducted in persuasive normative terminology viz., individual Freedom Vs Social justice. The great propaganda machineries on both sides mouthed vast generalisations and Sweeping platitudes with a view to buck up their respective state-systems and governmental structures. There was a virtual Scrambling for allies and camp-followers in Third World countries and both super powers sought to completely bipolarise the world community. This political drama had all the trappings of a holy war. However, behind the ideological facades unparralleled war-machinery was being constantly and consistently upgraded with a view to stabilise and perpetuate respective political hegemonies

and economic monopolies. Both sides engineered atomic and hydrogen bombs in late forties and early fifties and sought to perpetuate their respective spheres of influence through nuclear blackmail. They even sought to monopolise nuclear Research and Development.

The origin, development, relevance and meaningfulness of NAM as an international political response must be viewed against this very backdrop. Additionally, while recapitulating the background of NAM, the colonised Past of an overwhelmingly large NAM members must also be taken note of to understand their new security concerns and strategic pressures. Most of the NAM countries were subjugated by European Colonial powers for centuries together and it was only after world war II that long and tortuous freedom struggles in Asia and Africa began to fructify into cherished political sovereignty and independence. India became independent in 1947. Most of the African countries achieved their independence during the fifties of this century. After 1949, Socialist dispensation, while Peoples Republic of China, numerically the largest nation on the globe, opted for an independent foreign policy with a marked tilt towards USSR, India and scores of Afrø-Asian

nations with new-found independent political responsibilities had to grope their way in multi-complex international arena to arrive at an appropriate foreign policy strategy. These countries had either to join the so-called political and military blocs presided over by USA and USSR or chalk out an independent foreign policy response in keeping with their national interests and political responsibilities.

The Bandung Conference of Afro-Asian countries was an initial effort to forge out a United Third World foreign policy blue-print. Policies and programmes emanating from Bandung deliberations continued to be discussed during mutual and international conferences by Third World Countries. It was only in 1961 that NAM was formally inaugurated in Belgrade, thanks largely to the vision and statemanship of Nehru, Tito, Nasser, Sukarnoo and Nkrumah.

Since the first NAM Summit Conference in 1961 at Belgrade Yugoslavia, eight more such summits have been held across the continents of Asia, Africa, South America and Europe, the last again having been held at Belgrade in 1989. However, we are not here so much concerned with the historical role and contribution of NAM during the cold-war years of second half of the twentieth century, important, although,

it is in any comprehensive evaluation of the movement. The present thesis has attempted a comparative study of NAM Summits from 1961 upto 1986. The first chapter of this thesis outlines the historical perspective of non-aligned movement. The second and third chapter bring out the crucial issues deliberated upon by NAM Summits. The crucial issues deliberated upon by NAM have been identified as international peace and disarmament, the question of imperialism and neo-colonialism, the problem of Palestine, the problem of apartheid and above all the burning issue of New International Economic Order. The fourth and the last chapter brings out the responses of super powers towards the Non-aligned Movement.

The origin and emergence of NAM has been a crucial factor in the post war political history of our globe. Non-aligned Movement has to emerge in view of the fact that international political choices, initiatives and foreign policy options were being hijacked by a rigid and regimented bipolar power politics.

The present thesis establishes as well as reconfirms that NAM is a product of post-war and post colonial world-situation in which political models of management and economic models of development were being sought to be superimposed upon emerging Third World Countries by self-

appointed apostles of peace arrogating to themselves the title of super powers. However, the thesis does not argue that NAM is now an outdated political formation owing to changed international political Scenario thanks to Gorbachevian "Peace Offensive". Rather, it brings out the ongoing relevance of NAM, only if the movement gears itself up to face emerging challenges of our times. Secondly, in so far as the issues taken up by NAM in its summit deliberations are concerned, NAM cannot claim to have succeeded in resolving those internationally vital tangles. However, there are signs of hope. NAM has been consistently working for promoting the cause of world-peace. Now that super powers are winding up their long-drawn-out animosities and conducting peace treaties, the stand of NAM is somewhat vindicated. The essential stand of NAM was that super power confrontation was of a political nature, although the concerned quarters were conducting it in ideological terms. Now that the peace is prevailing NAM can take some credit for being a voice of sanity during cold-war years of massive super power propaganda against each other. However, NAM's stand on disarmament is less vindicated, although some progress on that front has also



been registered. In addition to it, no viable international security system has emerged which could protect the interests of small nations and act as a deterrent against attacks on their sovereignty and independence. The recent attack of Iraq on Kuwait is a case in point. International Security System remains as fragile as it was when NAM started its political and diplomatic innings, even though NAM has been consistently and continuously clamouring for international safeguards against stronger powers subjugating the smaller and weaker nations. Thirdly, NAM has achieved significant success in its struggle for de-colonisation. The entire Africa (with the exception of its Southern part reeling under white-minority regime) is politically free. Even South-West African peoples organisation has recently succeeded in liberating Namibia from colonial rule. The Asian and South-American countries too are free and playing their role in the comity of nations. Thus imperialism seems to have lost, hopefully for ever. However, NAM's struggle against neo-colonialism or economic imperialism has not met with considerable success.

Non-aligned movement has been waging a great struggle in the international arena for an economically just and

socially equitable world-order. However, the present thesis argues that contemporary international scene seems to be irretrievably divided between technological haves and have-nots. The industrial powers such as United States of America, Canada, Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Japan et. al., are dominating international economic scene. The Third World mostly represented by NAM is smarting under an unavoidable, vicious and circular debt-trap.

Thus, fourthly, this thesis tries to explain that NAM's struggle for a "New International Economic Order" has not so far cut any ice with the industrialised democracies. There has been no serious North-South dialogue. So NAM will be struggling in coming years with all its diplomatic armoury for conducting a meaningful and fruitful North-South dialogue.

Fifthly, NAM's consistent support to the people of South Africa in their struggle against white minority oppression and to the people of Palestine struggling for a homeland, has considerably helped these two nations. Today, there is, almost, universal support for these people's rights. Nelson Mandella is free and engaged in a dialogue with South-African Minority regime. Even Yasser

Arafat is now internationally acclaimed as the authentic representative of the people of Palestine. Both these questions are inching along to a final resolution and NAM's contribution towards the same can hardly be over-emphasised. However, NAM will have to put up additional efforts for an accelerated resolution of these conflicts..

Non-aligned movement is a political response of Third World countries to contemporary international realities. It emerged as a voice of protest against bifurcation of our world into 'Capitalist' and 'Socialist' compartments. Now that this compartmentalisation is breaking down, it does not mean non-aligned nations are out of business, or their political agenda has been finished. The issues and problems that NAM highlighted or championed are still with us demanding immediate resolution. In view of the same the following suggestions are submitted for making the movement more relevant and meaningful in contemporary world. The NAM should resolutely and unitedly face up to the political challenges of our times. The vested interests on the international plane are working hard to undermine the political sovereignty of Third World countries. The so-called first world countries have stockpiled their armaments in or around Third World countries with a view

to pressurise them to fall in line. Other subtle pressures through trade and commerce or via military aid are brought to bear upon non-aligned countries. This they should resist through concerted and United action. This is neo-imperialism in the form of ambitions global hegemonism. Non-aligned countries will have to safeguard their freedom and sovereignty through collective action. Otherwise, history might repeat itself.

Besides, some of the most important problems championed by NAM are still critically meriting international attention. For example, NAM has been continuously and consistently supporting the territorial rights of the people of Palestine and fighting against the system of apartheid in South-Africa. Both these questions are still hanging fire. Non-aligned movement will have to work hard to help people of Palestine in their struggle for a homeland. Similarly, it will have to make great efforts to eliminate apartheid and white-minority domination from South-Africa. Fresh problems such as insurgencies in Sri Lanka and Kashmir also merit the attention of NAM countries. Only, if NAM vigorously and rigorously takes up these vital political questions, will it be able to function as a meaningful and relevant forum in the contemporary world.

The most important question to be vigorously and courageously taken up by NAM is New International Economic Order. The quest for a New International Economic Order, is the hallmark of contemporary international politics and will heavily engage the attention of economic policy-makers, planners and strategists in 21st century.

A cool and detached analysis of contemporary international situation reveals that although political imperialism is dead now, a new form of imperialism known as neo-colonialism has overtaken what have been termed as Third World countries. The terms of international trade and commerce are being dictated by highly industrialised countries such as United States of America, Japan, Germany, Britain, France, Italy, Canada etc. The Third World countries are caught within a technological blackmail. The industrialised countries, because of their historical lead in Science, are perpetually designing highly sophisticated technologies. In very short time now, technologies grow obsolescent and outdated. More often than not, outdated technological equipments are exported to Third World countries. Now advanced technology means production of superior consumer goods and apart from domestic consumption, these sophisticated and finished products are

supplied to Third World at enormously prohibitive prices. The Third World countries have also to import billions of dollars worth armaments and fighter planes from the industrialised nations. This creates an unbridgable trade deficit. The NAM countries must fight now these structural imbalances in international economy and struggle for devising strategies whereby huge trade deficits against Third World countries can be reduced and a foundation can be laid for the establishment of a New International Economic Order.

NAM must also direct their energies towards achieving a complete nuclear disarmament. They have been struggling all along for complete demilitarisation and disarmament. While complete demilitarisation sounds too utopian and idealistic, nuclear disarmament seems not to be impossible of realisation. The nuclear super powers have already downgraded their ambitious nuclear programmes and eliminated nuclear arms to a considerable extent. NAM must build upon this opportunity and pursue the struggle for complete nuclear disarmament through the agency of the United Nations.

Non-aligned nations need to develop mutual cooperation before they can work for international or intercontinental

cooperation on global scale. They have to pursue South-South cooperation before any meaningful North-South dialogue can take place for the establishment of a New International Economic Order. If NAM countries mostly belonging to Third World continue to be disunited, they can hardly put up a United struggle against economic exploitation by industrialised nations.

The Southern countries of the globe need to develop economic and commercial relations amongst themselves. Such a cooperation will be mutually beneficial and definitely raise their bargaining power against technologically advanced nations.

It is needless to say that Southern nations characterised as Third World countries will have to establish New National Economic Orders to stabilise their national polities. Only then they will have the moral right to demand a New International Economic Order.

The NAM countries must also take up unitedly an environment protection programme. Voluntary agencies though useful cannot achieve much in this regard. Environment is too important to be entirely left to volunteers.

It needs collective, in fact, **inter-governmental** action to minimise the enormous damage done already to the environment. The governments need to devise development plans that are environmentally sustainable.

There is an increasing ecological consciousness across the continents. More and more people are becoming convinced that environmental protection is essential to the survival of Third World countries and human civilization as a whole. The times when the rich industrial North could fence itself off from the poor agrarian South are long gone. The preservation of the environment is emerging as a common concern for all people, wherever they live. The encroachment of deserts in Africa, the regular monsoon floods in Asia, the ruthless exploitation of Third World natural resources and deadly industrial accidents, etc. cannot, therefore be tackled at the individual initiative or through voluntary agencies. Therefore, it becomes or should become an important assignment for NAM to arrest the mindless environmental degradation going on day in and day out.

Lastly, something must be said about the contemporary relevance of the NAM. Currently, interbloc Cold war is



ostensibly disappearing under what has been termed as the "Peace Offensive" of President Gorbachev of Soviet Union. United States of America and Soviet Union have apparently patched up. The Warsaw Pact countries have reverted to open market economies. Two Germanys have United again. The Soviet Union is engaged in a painful struggle while retracing back to free enterprise and market system. The western industrial democracies and Japan are pumping billions of dollars in Eastern European economies with a view to subsequently create wider market for their sophisticated machinery as well as consumer goods. The key socialist Jargon in terms of Central Planning, dictatorship of the Protetariat, international revolution, classes society etc., have fastly disappeared and Eastern European countries including Soviet Union are joining the capitalist Camp shortly.

The more this "Peace Offensive" succeeds, the more it undermines the fundamental assumptions on which NAM rests. The very movement arose in view of a sharply polarised international bipolar system. The very "Non-Alignment" suggests that a group of countries accepting it as a foreign policy programme were guided by considerations of neutrality and equidistance from bloc politics. They

did not want to play second fiddle to super powers. Now, in view of fast developments that have overtaken Eastern Europe and fastly changing role and responsibility of Soviet Union, what does Non-Alignment mean.

Quite true, that Soviet Union has given up or is giving up pretensions to being a super power. They have their own economic and political problems to settle. It can plausibly be argued that they are lying low and biding time. They can be expected to recharge themselves in international arena. Or may be another Scenario develops. Soviet Union might disintegrate in view of her ethnic diversity and cultural pluralism. However, that will not be an end to human history. Future can be trusted to be storing surprises for US. New power equations can emerge. New super powers will evolve. New interventions and exploitations can take place in Third World countries.

For example, Germany has united. She has the potential of outsmarting even United States of America. In due course of time, Japan might develop her own political ambitions. China can be expected to play a powerful role in international affairs. So even if Soviet Union retraces back completely from world arena,

new developments are bound to follow. Even if no threat emerges quickly to the military and economic might of USA, still things will be hot for the Third World. United States of America in collaboration with NATO countries can be expected to dominate the entire Third World. In fact, NATO countries notably, Britain, France, Holland, Spain, Portugal etc. have been formerly the imperial powers. NAM countries have bitter memories of fighting against these powers for attaining their independence. So these countries can again look towards their former clients to enhance their own business. In view of these conditions we cannot say that NAM has run out of its international duties and responsibilities. It will have to play a more watchful role.

For instance, the Gulf crisis is a case in point. Obviously one NAM member Iraq has attacked and annexed another NAM member, Kuwait. The very act in itself constitutes a great setback to the movement as a whole. However, this problem could have been solved either by mutual consultations amongst the Gulf area countries or NAM could have taken up the matter to resolve it peacefully. Whether they would have been able to resolve the question or not is beside the point. There are burning international disputes demanding immediate resolution.

In course of time, some of them will be resolved. New problems will crop up. New solutions will be sought. What is important to note is that United States of America further complicated the question by opting for a military solution of the problem. United States of America wants to protect her own interests in that strategically and economically important region. She wants to dictate economic and political terms in that region. In fact, she would be happiest if she can play a predominant role in the entire world.

Here NAM will have to play a role. NAM countries will have to forge a united front against selective intervention by super powers. If United States of America is only interested in teaching Iraq a lesson for violating international laws, why is she actively supporting Israel who usurped Arab territories in 1967. In fact, she is merely interested in ruthlessly pursuing her own foreign policy goals. That is, where the NAM countries should see the danger signal. Super powers should not be allowed to pursue their foreign policy interests in the trouble spots of third world. They should not be allowed to fish in troubled waters.

In such situations NAM countries can project the views and concerns of Third World. They are important

forum to ventilate the Third World political and economic perspectives. Such an important forum should not be dissolved because Soviet Union is currently passing through political glasnost and economic perestroika. Nomenclature is not important. It can adopt a new name if it so wishes. What is important is the continuation of a movement that struggles to protect the interests and project the views of developing countries.

The NAM now needs a reorientation in its goals and objectives in the face of radically changed global environment marked by increasing tension and turmoil. Maximum encouragement must be given to promote all sided development among the member countries so they can be independent of both the super powers, economically and politically and help themselves promote a "zone of peace" in this turbulent world.

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